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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MINNESOTA

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME II.

ST. PAUL, MINN.:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
1860–67.
[Reprint, 1889.]

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Preface to Volume II.

The second volume of the collections of the Minnesota Historical Society was intended to include the parts issued respectively in 1860, 1864, and 1867. The first of these parts, containing pages 1–88 (being the "Voyage in a Six-oared Skiff to the Falls of Saint Anthony in 1817"), was issued in a large edition, and widely distributed, in the year first mentioned. Part 2 (1864), comprising pages 89–174, as reprinted, and Part 3 (1867), comprising pages 175–294, as reprinted, were issued in quite a limited edition, and most of these copies were destroyed in the burning of the state capitol, in 1881. By an inadvertence of the publication committee at that period, these parts, or sections, were not consecutively paged, and hence Vol. II. could not (when completed) be indexed, so that much of the value of the interesting and able papers contained in it were lost to scholars searching for historical facts in our collections.

We have therefore reissued Parts 2 and 3, adding to them the account of the celebration of the Carver Centenary in 1867. The whole are now consecutively paged, and a thorough analytical index renders the contents of the entire volume easily available.

All the papers in this volume are of the highest value and interest to scholars. Particularly to be noted are the able papers of Hon. J. W. Lynd, and of Rev. Gideon H. Pond, on the religion of the Dakota race.

J. F. W.

St. Paul, April 27, 1889.

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VOYAGE IN A SIX-OARED SKIFF

—TO THE—

FALLS OF SAINT ANTHONY

IN 1817.

BY

MAJOR STEPHEN H. LONG,

TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEER UNITED STATES ARMY.

[SECOND EDITION—1890.]

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

[TO THE FIRST EDITION.]

This Journal, for the first time published, was written by STEPHEN H. LONG, now a veteran and honored Colonel of the Corps of Topographical Engineers of the United States Army.*

The voyage was performed in a six-oared skiff, presented to Major Long by Governor William Clark, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Saint Louis. Having returned from a tour to the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, he ascended from Prairie du Chien to the Falls of Saint Anthony.

The objects of his voyage were to meander and sketch the course of the Upper Mississippi, to exhibit the general topography of the shores, and to designate such sites as were suitable for military purposes.

The manuscript was placed in the hands of Keating in 1823, who frequently refers to it in his History of the Expedition to the Sources of the St. Peter, now Minnesota River.

Written nearly a half century ago, containing the first account of the legends of Maiden Rock and the Falls of Saint Anthony, and describing the actual appearance of Indian villages then on the sites of numerous busy towns of the present day, it must ever be perused with interest, and considered an important contribution to the Historical Collections of Minnesota.

The writer cannot omit the expression of indebtedness to the venerable author, and also to Dr. Edwin James,† of Burlington, Iowa, for the courtesy manifested in granting the manuscript for publication. E. D. N.

St. Paul, Minnesota, 1860.

*Col. Stephen Harriman Long, died at Alton, Ill., Sept. 4, 1864.
†Dr. Edwin James, died Oct. 28, 1861.

JOURNAL.

Wednesday, July 9.—Learning that there was little or no danger to be apprehended from the Indians living on the Mississippi above Prairie du Chein, I concluded to ascend for the purpose of reconnoitering further up the river. Laid in provision for sixteen days, and set sail at half past eight this morning with a favorable wind. I took an additional soldier on board at the Fort, so that my crew now consisted of seven men. My former interpreter not being aquainted with the language of the Indians living on this part of the river, I had occasion to dismiss him and employ another. The name of my present interpreter is Rock or Roque, whose father was a Frenchman and mother a squaw of the Sioux nation. But as he was not acquainted with the English language, nor I with the French sufficiently to converse with him, I stood in need of some person to interpret his conversation inEnglish. A gentleman by the name of Hempstead, a resident of Prairie du Chien, having some desire to ascend the Mississippi, had the politeness to volunteer his services as French interpreter, and ascend the river in company with me. The whole number on board of my boat was now ten persons. Mr. Hempstead was a native of New London, Connecticut, but has resided in this part of the country about eight years.

There sailed also in company with us, two young gentlemen from New York, by the name of King and Gun, who are grandsons of Capt. J. Carver, the celebrated traveler. They had taken a bark canoe at Green Bay, and were on their way to the northward, on a visit to the Sauteurs, for the purpose of establishing their claims to a tract of land granted by those Indians to their grandfather. They had waited at Prairie du Chien, during my trip up the Ouisconsin, in order to ascend the Mississippi with me. On board their boat were three men beside themselves; so that our whole party consisted of fifteen persons. Passed Yellow River on our left, about two miles from the Fort. It is navigable for pirogues, in time of high water, about fifty miles from its mouth. About one mile further up is a creek of considerable size coming in on the same side, called the Painted Rock. One and a half miles higher is a small prairie on the east side, at the upper end of the Prairie du Chien, called Prairie des Sioux, at which the Sioux Indians are in the habit of stopping to dress and paint themselves, when they are on their way to visit the garrison below. Passed a prominent part of the bluffs on our left, called Cape Puant. The circumstance from which it derived its name was as follows. The Sioux and Puants were about to commence hostilities against each other; and a large party of the latter set out on an expedition, to invade the territory of the Sioux and attack them by surprise. But the Sioux, gaining intelligence of their design assembled a superior force, and laid in ambush, waiting for the Puants to land on this side. Immediately after their landing the Sioux rushed

down from the bluffs; attacked the Puants in a small recess, between two promontories, drove them into the river, and massacred the whole party. Just above this is Garlic Cape, remarkable from the singularity of its appearance. In shape it resembles a cone, cut by a perpendicular plane passing through its apex and base. Its height is about four hundred and fifty feet. A little east of its base is a fine spring. The valley of the river in this part is almost entirely occupied by the river, which spreads in some places to the width of three or four miles, giving place to numerous islands, some of which are very large. The bluffs are generally between four and five hundred feet high, cut with numerous ravines and exhibiting other signs of being the commencement of a very hilly and broken inland country. The wind failed us about eleven A. M., and we had occasion to row the rest of the day. Encamped on the head of an island about sunset. Distance twenty-eight and a half miles.

Thursday, 10.—Our companions in the birch canoe encamped on the same island but about four miles below us. The weather calm this morning. Got under way at sunrise and came six miles before breakfast, during which we caught five catfish and one drum. A favorable wind them rising, we set sail. Passed a small recess on our right, formerly occupied by a party of Winnebagoes as a village. It now contains but two small wigwams, having been deserted by its former occupants in consequence of a disaster that befell one of their party. In time of the late war, Gov. Clark, of St. Louis, ascended the Mississippi for the purpose of establishing a

military post at Prairie du Chien. On his arrival at that place he found there eight Indians who were inhabitants of this village, and made prisoners of them, as they had taken part with our enemies. They were confined in the house now occupied by Mr. Hempstead, and a guard set to keep them secure. Apprehending that they should be treated with severity, they were meditating a plan whereby to effect their escape; when one of their number hit upon an expedient which they afterwards adopted. His plan was for one of the party to break through a window and seize the sentinel, when there should happen to be but one on post, and hold him fast till the rest should make their escape. But aware that the one who should execute this part of the plot must expose himself to almost certain death, he offered to sacrifice himself for the safety of the others; and an opportunity presenting he leaped through the window, seized the sentinel, whose attempts to stab him with his bayonet he effectually frustrated, and held him fast till the rest had got out of danger. He then released the sentinel and attempted to make his escape but was immediately fired upon by the sentinel and received a wound in the knee, of which he died a short time after; although it did not prevent him from effecting his escape at the time.

Passed Little Ioway River coming in from the west. There is a small village of Foxes about three miles up this river, consisting of five or six wigwams. The river is navigable in time of high water about fifty miles, and at all times a little above the Indian village. Its current is generally rapid but not precipitate. Passed several

Sioux lodges or wigwams on our left, at which there was a small war party of ten or twelve Indians. As soon as they saw our flag they hoisted American colors, and we returned the compliment by discharging a blunderbuss, upon which they fired two guns ahead of us. Finding we were not disposed to call on them, (for we had a very fine wind), six of the young warriors, very fine looking fellows, took a canoe and waited on us. We slackened sail to enable them to overtake us. When they came up, their chief warrior gave me his hand and a few common-place remarks passed between us. I gave him some tobacco and a pint of whisky, and they left us, apparently very well satisfied.

Passed Raccoon Creek, an inconsiderable stream coming in from the eastward.

Since we left Prairie du Chien, have not been able at any place to see both sides of the river at the same time, owing to the numerous islands which the river imbosoms. The bluffs generally make their appearance immediately upon the shore of the river, on both sides. They are intersected by numerous ravines which divide them into knobs and peaks towering four or five hundred feet above the level of the river. The rocky stratifications are almost exclusively sandstone, of a yellowish appearance, inclining to be soft and spongy, rather than brittle and crumbling. Numerous bluffs of a semi-conical form resembling Cape Garlic before described, only in many instances are much larger, are arranged along the sides of the river. Their faces are perpendicular cliffs of the above mentioned sandstone. Passed the mouth of Root River on our left. It is navigable in high water about

forty or forty-five miles, and in low about twenty. There are no Indians living upon it at present, but hunting parties frequently encamp in the neighborhood of it. The wind very favorable most of the day. Encamped on the west side of the river, a little above the Root River, at a late hour. Distance fifty miles.

Friday, 11.—In the latter part of the night, a violent storm from the north-east, accompanied with very heavy thunder, commenced and continued till morning. Got under way at sunrise, the weather calm and cloudy. Passed Prairie de la Cross, on our right, upon which we observed a small enclosure which was the burying place of the son of an Indian Chief. Upon his grave a pole was erected, to which an American flag was attached. The flag was almost worn out, having been suspended for a considerable time. At the upper part of the prairie was a small encampment of Winnebagoes—the most civil of any of that nation I have met with. They gave us a large number of turtles' eggs, of which they had collected nearly half a bushel, and in return I gave them some tobacco. This party belongs to a small band of Winnebagoes, living about six miles up the Prairie de la Cross Creek, which comes in from the north-east at the head of the Prairie. The band consists of forty or fifty men, besides women and children.

These Indians were peaceable during the late war, and have always manifested a friendly disposition towards the Americans. Collected several specimens of curious, though not very interesting, minerals; amongst which were iron ore, red sandstone, some parts of which were of a vermilion hue, and sandstone of a yellowish cast,

containing abundance of extremely small shells and other organic remains. Met three canoes of Sioux Indians. Passed the Black river on our right, coming in from the N. N. E. It is navigable for pirogues somewhat more than one hundred miles, to where the navigation is obstructed by rapids. On this river is an abundance of pine timber of an excellent quality. Much of the pine timber used at St. Louis is cut here. This river has three mouths, by which it discharges itself into the Mississippi, the lowermost of which is most passable, and communicates with the Mississippi twelve to fourteen miles below the junction of the valleys of the two rivers. The bluffs along the river to-day were unusually interesting. They were of an exceedingly wild and romantic character, being divided into numerous detached fragments, some of them of mountainous size, while others in slender conical peaks, seemed to tower aloft till their elevation rendered them invisible. Here might the poet or bard indulge his fancy in the wildest extravagance, while the philosopher would find a rich repast in examining the numerous phenomena here presented to his view, and in tracing the wonderful operations of nature that have taken place since the first formation of the world.

A little above the mouth of Black River, both shores of the Mississippi may be seen at the same time, which is the only instance of the kind we have met with on our way from Prairie du Chien to this place. One mile further ahead the bluffs on both sides approach within eight hundred yards of each other, and the river in consequence is narrower here than at any other place this side of Prairie du Chien. Notwithstanding this contrac-

tion of its channel the river here imbosoms an island of considerable size. The wind hard ahead most of the day. Encamped about sunset on a small island. Distance about twenty-six and a half miles.

Saturday, 12. Within a few yards of the island where we encamped is another, considerably smaller, which, for the sake of brevity I called the Bluff Islands, as its former name is very long and difficult to pronounce. It has been accounted a great curiosity by travelers. It is remarkable for being the third island of the Mississippi, from the gulf of Mexico to this place, that has a rocky foundation similar to that of the neighboring bluffs, and nearly the same altitude. Pike, in his account of it, states the height of it to be about two hundred feet. We lay by this morning for the purpose of ascertaining its altitude, which we found by trigonometrical calculation, which my instruments would not enable me to make with much accuracy, to be a little more than five hundred feet. It is a very handsome conical hill, but not sufficiently large to deserve the appellation of mountain, although it is called by the name of the Montaigne qui trompe de l'eau, or the mountain that is soaked in the water. When we stopped for breakfast, Mr. Hempstead and myself ascended a high peak to take a view of the country. It is known by the name of the Kettle Hill, having obtained this appellation from the circumstance of its having numerous piles of stone on its top, most of them fragments of the rocky stratifications which constitute the principal part of the hill, but some of them small piles made by the Indians. These at a distance have some similitude of kettles arranged along upon the ridge

and sides of the hill. From this, or almost any other eminence in its neighborhood, the beauty and grandeur of the prospect would baffle the skill of the most ingenious pencil to depict, and that of the most accomplished pen to describe. Hills marshaled into a variety of agreeable shapes, some of them towering into lofty peaks, while others present broad summits embellished with contours and slopes in the most pleasing manner; champaigns and waving valleys; forests, lawns, and parks alternating with each other; the humble Mississippi meandering far below, and occasionally losing itself in numberless islands, give variety and beauty to the picture, while rugged cliffs and stupendous precipices here and there present themselves as if to add boldness and majesty to the scene. In the midst of this beautiful scenery is situated a village of the Sioux Indians, on an extensive lawn called the Aux Aisle Prairie; at which we lay by for a short time. On our arrival the Indians hoisted two American flags, and we returned the compliments by discharging our blunderbuss and pistols. They then fired several guns ahead of us by way of a salute, after which we landed and were received with much friendship. The name of their chief is Wauppaushaw, or the Leaf, commonly called by a name of the same import in French, La Feuille, or La Fye, as it is pronounced in English. He is considered one of the most honest and honorable of any of the Indians, and endeavors to inculcate into the minds of his people the sentiments and principles adopted by himself. He was not at home at the time I called, and I had no opportunity of seeing him. The Indians, as I suppose, with the expectation

that I had something to communicate to them, assembled themselves at the place where I landed and seated themselves upon the grass. I inquired if their chief was at home, and was answered in the negative. I then told them I should be very glad to see him, but as he was absent I would call on him again in a few days when I should return. I further told them that our father, the new President, wished to obtain some more information relative to his red children, and that I was on a tour to acquire any intelligence he might stand in need of. With this they appeared well satisfied, and permitted Mr. Hempstead and myself to go through their village. While I was in the wigwam, one of the subordinate chiefs, whose name was Wazzecoota, or Shooter from the Pine Tree, volunteered to accompany me up the river. I accepted of his services, and he was ready to attend me on the tour in a very short time. When we hove in sight the Indians were engaged in a ceremony called the *Bear Dance;* a ceremony which they are in the habit of performing when any young man is desirous of bringing himself into particular notice, and is considered a kind of initiation into the state of manhood. I went on to the ground where they had their performances, which were ended sooner than usual on account of our arrival. There was a kind of flag made of fawn skin dressed with the hair on, suspended on a pole. Upon the flesh side of it were drawn certain rude figures indicative of the dream which it is necessary the young man should have dreamed, before he can be considered a proper candidate for this kind of initiation; with this a pipe was suspended by way of sacrifice. Two arrows

were stuck up at the foot of the pole, and fragments of painted feathers, etc., were strewed about the ground near to it. These pertained to the religious rites attending the ceremony, which consist in bewailing and self-mortification, that the Good Spirit may be induced to pity them, and succour their undertaking.

At the distance of two or three hundred yards from the flag, is an excavation which they call the bears' hole, prepared for the occasion. It is about two feet deep, and has two ditches, about one foot deep, leading across it at right angles. The young hero of the farce places himself in this hole, to be hunted by the rest of the young men, all of whom on this occasion are dressed in their best attire and painted in their neatest style. The hunters approach the hole in the direction of one of the ditches, and discharge their guns, which were previously loaded for the purpose with blank cartridges, at the one who acts the part of the bear; whereupon he leaps from his den, having a hoop in each hand, and a wooden lance, the hoops serving as forefeet to aid him in characterizing his part, and his lance to defend him from his assailants. Thus accoutered he dances round the place, exhibiting various feats of activity, while the other Indians pursue him and endeavor to trap him as he attempts to return to his den, to effect which he is privileged to use any violence he pleases with impunity against his assailants, and even to taking the life of any of them.

This part of the ceremony is performed three times, that the bear may escape from his den and return to it again through three of the avenues communicating with it. On being hunted from the fourth or last avenue, the

bear must make his escape through all his pursuers if possible, and flee to the woods, where he is to remain through the day. This, however is seldom or never accomplished, as all the young men exert themselves to the utmost in order to trap him. When caught he must retire to a lodge erected for his reception in the field, where he is to be secluded from all society through the day, except one of his particular friends, whom he is allowed to take with him as an attendant. Here he smokes and performs various other rites which superstition has led the Indians to believe are sacred. After this ceremony is ended the young Indian is considered qualified to act any part as an efficient member of their community, The Indian who has had the good fortune to catch the bear and overcome him when endeavoring to make his escape to the woods, is considered a candidate for preferment, and is on the first suitable occasion appointed the leader of a small war party in order that he may further have an opportunity to test his prowess and perform more essential service in behalf of his nation. If is accordingly expected that he will kill some of their enemies and return with their scalps. I regretted very much that I had missed the opportunity of witnessing this ceremony, which is never performed except when prompted by the particular dreams of one or other of the young men, who is never complimented twice in the same manner on account of his dreams.

Passed several places where the prospect was very agreeable. The winds strong ahead all day. Encamped on a sand bar. Distance twenty-one miles.

Sunday, 13—Caught several fish last night. The

atmosphere loaded with vapor this morning; the mercury at 51°. Started at sunrise but had to lay by on account of the fog. A favorable breeze sprung up from the S. E. about eight and we hoisted sail. Saw a numerous flock of pelicans. They flew up from a sand-bar a little before us, and continued sailing about us for some time, which is usual with them, till they arose to a very great height when they disappeared. Passed Embarrass River on our left coming in from the west. Just above its confluence with the Mississippi it unites its waters with Clear Water Creek. The former is navigable in high water thirty or forty miles, the latter about fifteen miles. The Indians frequently hunt in the neighborhood of these rivers, but have no permanent establishment upon them. A little above this our Indian companion informed us that he was fired upon seven times by a party of Chippeways but received no injury. He was alone and unarmed at the time, but the Chippeways fled immediately after firing upon him. Passed the cabin also where my interpreter spent the last winter in trading with the Indians—at present unoccupied. Met the nephew of La Feuille, and another Indian, who were no a hunting expedition. My interpreter informed the nephew who is to succeed his uncle in the office of chief, that a party of the Sioux Indians of his village had followed us, to beg whisky, after we had given them all we thought it prudent to part with. He appeared much offended that they should have done so, and eagerly inquired if his uncle was not at home to restrain them. We gave them some tobacco and whisky and left them. Were much amused by the singing of our chief, who felt

a dispositon to be merry after taking whisky. He appears to be a man of veracity, firmness, and bravery. He occasionally stands up in the boat and harangues with a loud voice, proclaiming who he is, where he is going, and the company he is with. Passed the River au Bœuf coming in from the north. It is of moderate size and is navigable in high water about thirty miles. Buffaloes are found on this river which gives occasion to its name; the Indians hunt them here in all seasons; they are not, however, very numerous. Opposite to the mouth of this river, on the west side of the Mississippi, is a large prairie, situated between the bluffs and the river, being about two miles in width; on a part of it is a scattering growth of timber. Should there be occasion to send troops into this quarter, they might be posted to advantage at this place, as the position would be secure, and at the same time, afford a tolerable command of the river. The elevation of the prairie above the river is about twenty-five feet. Upon the upper end of the prairie is the Grand Encampment, or place of general resort for the Indian traders, during the winter, for the purpose of trafficking with the Indians.

Arrived at the foot of Lake Pepin about dark. The wind favorable, but very gentle, through the day. Distance thirty-five miles.

Monday, 14.—The wind blew violently from the S. E. through the night, but as it was too dark to take our courses, we could not avail ourselves of the advantage it otherwise would have been to us. Set sail at an early hour, but the wind soon shifted into the N. W., and was so strong ahead that we could make but very little

progress either by rowing or cordelling. Were in consequence delayed about one and a half hours, during which Mr. H. and myself ascended the bluff in order to enjoy a prospect of the neighboring country. The place where we were was at the lower extremity of Lake Pepin. From the height we had a view, not only of the lake and the majestic bluffs that bound it, but also of the surrounding country to a considerable extent. The contrast between this and the view we had two days before is very striking, The bluffs are more regular and more uniform in their height. The back country is rolling rather than hilly, and has comparatively but little timber upon it, particularly on the west of the river. The valley between the bluffs which was before thronged with islands, sand-bars, pools and marshes, is here occupied by a beautiful expanse of water with nothing to obstruct the view upon its surface, but the shores of the lake. At the lower end of Lake Pepin, which has its general course about E. S. E. is Chippeway River coming in from the north. It is about five hundred yards wide at its mouth, and is navigable for pirogues about fifty miles at all times and in high water much farther. From its appearance, however, I should judge that its navigation would be much obstructed by sand-bars. After breakfast we passed up the lake about two miles, and stopped [on] the east shore for the purpose of ascertaining the width of the lake and the height of the bluffs where the high lands commence. We found the lake a few yards short of two miles wide, and the elevation of the hills four hundred and seventy-five feet above the surface of the lake. About midway of

the lake passed the Lover's Leap, a prominent part of the bluffs, with a perpendicular precipice of about one hundred and fifty feet, and an abrupt descent of nearly three hundred feet from its base to the waters edge. At this place an unfortunate squaw met with an untimely fate, as the consequence of her parents' obstinacy and persecution. The circumstances that led to this result were related by our Indian chief and were the following. Since his remembrance, a large party of the Sioux Indians of La Feuille's band were going on a visit from the river St. Peter's to Prairie du Chien. When they arrived at the hill now called the Lover's Leap, they stopped to gather blue clay, which is found near the foot of the hill, for the purpose of painting themselves. Of this party was the young squaw who is the subject of the story. She had for a long time received the addresses of a young hunter, who had formed an unconquerable attachment to her, and for whom she entertained the strongest affection. Her parents and brothers were strenuously opposed to her choice, and warmly seconded the solicitations of a young warrior who was very much beloved by the nation for his bravery and other good qualities. To obviate her objections to the warrior as being destitute of the means of clothing and feeding her in consequence of the life he must lead in order to perform the duties of his profession, her brothers were at the expense of procuring everything that was necessary to the ease and comfort of a family, and presented them to the young warrior. This they did on the day of their arrival at the fatal spot, with the hope that their sister would readily be prevailed upon to

marry the young man when all her objections to him were thus obviated. She still persisted, however, in the determination never to marry any but the object of her sincere affection, the young hunter; while her parents and brothers finding they could not accomplish their purpose by gentle means, began to treat her with severity. They insisted on her compliance with their wishes, still summoning the arguments of filial duty and affection in aid of their cause. She replied, "She did not love the soldier and would live single forever rather than marry him. You call me daughter and sister, as if this should induce me to marry the man of your choice and not of my own. You say you love me, yet you have driven the only man that can make me happy far from me. He loved me; but you would not let us be happy together. He has therefore left me,—he has left his parents and all his friends, and gone to bewail in the woods He cannot partake of the pleasure of this party. He can do nothing but mourn. You are not satisfied with all this. You have not made me miserable enough. You would now compel me to marry a man I do not love. Since this is your purpose, let it be so. You will soon have no daughter or sister to torment, or beguile with your false professions of love." The same day was fixed upon as the day of her marriage with the warrior, and the Indians were busily occupied in gathering clay and painting themselves, preparatory for the nuptial ceremony. She, in the meantime, walked aside from the rest of the party, ascended to the top of the hill, and called aloud to her parents and brothers, upbraiding them for their unkind treatment. "You first refused to let me marry

agreeably to my own choice. You then endeavored by artifice to unite me to a man I cannot love, and now you will force me to marry him whether I will or not. You thought to allure and make me wretched, but you shall be disappointed." Her parents, aware of her design, ran to the foot of the hill, and entreated her to desist, with all the tenderness and concern that parental fondness could suggest, rending their hair and bewailing in the bitterest manner; while her brothers attempted to gain the summit before she should execute her fatal purpose. But all in vain; she was determined and resolute. She commenced singing her death song and immediately threw herself headlong down the precipice, preferring certain and instantaneous death, to a lingering state of unhappy wedlock.

Passed a large encampment of Sioux Indians, two miles further up the lake, at which we left our chief. As we hove in sight they hoisted the American flag, which we saluted with a discharge of our blunderbuss. Our salute was returned by the discharge of several guns fired ahead of us. When we landed a crowd of Indians came about us, and were very anxious that we should stop a while with them. But the wind being strong and favorable we concluded it best to make as little delay as possible. We accordingly gave them some tobacco and proceeded on. Lake Pepin is about twenty-one miles long and of variable width from one and a half to three miles. Through the greater part of its length it occupies the whole width of the valley situated between the river bluffs. There are however two prairies of considerable size within the valley, that appear possessed of an excel-

lent soil, and are advantageously situated in regard to their elevation above the water. There are a few unimportant brooks emptying into the lake. About four miles above the lake is a river coming in from the west called Cannon river. Its navigation, etc., is similar to that of Root River before mentioned. It has a small band of Sioux Indians residing near its head. Passed an island a little above where two French traders were killed by an Indian a few years since. Encamped on a sand-bar at sunset. Wind favorable a part of the day. Distance thirty-five and a half miles.

Tuesday, 15.—Soon after we encamped last evening we received a visit from four Indians, two men and two boys; which gave me more satisfaction than any visit I had received from the Indians. They appeared very good humored and friendly. They asked for nothing. I gave them some tobacco and whisky for which they repeatedly thanked me. Gratitude is the noblest return that can be made for a kindness.

Set sail a half an hour before sunrise, with a favorable wind. Breakfasted a little below the place called the Crevasse, which is merely a fissure between two large rocks, affording a passage to a small stream of water. Ascending the bluff which is here no more than about one hundred and seventy-five feet high, which is the common level of the country in this vicinity. Upon the slope of the bluffs observed a variety of pebbles and stones, amongst which were the agate of various hues, calcedony, flint, serpentine, ruby and rock crystal, etc. Pike in his journal describes the Mississippi for a considerable distance below the river St. Croix, as of a

reddish appearance in shoal water, but black as ink in deep. The reddish appearance is occasioned by the sand at the bottom, which is of that complexion; the dark is no more than what is common in deep water moderately limpid. Met eight canoes of Indians headed by a trader whose name was Elk's Head. They were merely on a hunting expedition, I gave the chief some tobacco. Passed the St. Croix River on our right. Its mouth is about one hundred yards wide, but immediately above it expands into a lake from three quarters to two miles wide, and about thirty miles long. Throughout its whole extent it is deep and navigable for a craft of very considerable burden. Its general course, from its head to its confluence with the Mississippi, is about S. E. About twenty miles above the lake in the river St. Croix are rapids by which the navigation of the river is entirely obstructed. Above the rapids the river is navigable for considerable distance, in direction towards Lake Superior. The water communication between Lake Superior and the Mississippi, is obstructed by a portage of moderate extent only, and is the channel of considerable intercourse between the British traders and the Indians. The Indians have no permanent villages either on the Lake, or the River St. Croix. They resort here annually, however, in large hunting parties, for wild game of almost of all kinds, which is round here in great abundance. Gen. Pike on his expedition negotiated with the Indians for a tract of land comprehending the confluence of the St. Crox and Mississippi, and obtained a grant of nine miles square. About four miles above the mouth of the St. Croix, as it is said, is the narrowest part of

the Mississippi below the Falls of St. Anthony. At this place we crossed the river from a dead start, with sixteen strokes of our oars. The river is here probably between one hundred and one hundred and twenty yards wide, but as we had a favorable wind up the river we did not stop to measure it. Upon supposition that the country, on ascending the Mississippi, would lose its alluvial and secondary character, after passing the Des Moin Rapids, and exhibit nothing but traits of primitive formations, not only in its precipices but even upon its surface, I had expected to find on this part of the river, not merely bluffs and knolls five or six hundred feet high, but, also, mountains of vast height and magnitude. On the contrary I now discover that we have long since passed the highest lands of the Mississippi and that we are now moving through a rolling prairie country, where the eye is greeted with the view of extensive undulating plains, instead of being astonished by the wild gigantic scenery of a world of mountains.

The highlands on this part of the river are elevated from one to two hundred feet above the water level. The bluffs are more regular, both in their height and direction, than they are below Lake Pepin, and the valley of the river more uniform in its width. The stratifications of the bluffs are almost entirely sandstone, containing clay and lime in greater or less proportions. The pebbles are a mixture of primitive and secondary stones of various kinds. Blue clay or chalk is frequently to be found.

Passed the Detour de Pin or Pine Turn of the Mississippi, which is the most westwardly turn of the river,

between St. Louis and the Falls of St. Anthony. The distance from this bend across to the River St. Peter's is about nine miles, whereas it requires two days to go by water to the same place on the St. Peter's.

The Mississipi above the St. Croix emphatically deserves the name it has acquired, which originally implies, Clear river. The water is entirely colorless and free from everything that would render it impure, either to the sight or taste. It has a greenish appearance, occasioned by reflections from the bottom, but when taken into a vessel is perfectly clear.

The wind was favorable through most of the day, but the river in this part is very crooked, so that we could not sail with so much expedition as otherwise we might have done. Encamped at sunset on the east side of the river upon a handsome prairie. Distance forty-one miles.

Wednesday, 16.—Set sail at half past four this morning with a favorable breeze. Passed an Indian burying ground on our left, the first that I have seen surrounded with a fence. In the centre a pole is erected, at the foot of which religious rites are performed at the burial of an Indian, by the particular friends and relatives of the deceased. Upon the pole a flag is suspended when any person of extraordinary merit, or one who is very much beloved, is buried. In the enclosure were two scaffolds erected also, about six feet high and six feet square. Upon one of them were two coffins containing dead bodies. Passed a Sioux village on our right containing fourteen cabins. The name of the chief is the Petit Corbeau, or Little Raven. The Indians were all absent on a hunting party up the River St. Croix, which

is but a little distance across the country from the village. Of this we were very glad, as this band are said to be the most notorious beggars of all the Sioux on the Mississippi. One of their cabins is furnished with loop holes, and is situated so near the water that the opposite side of the river is within musket-shot range from the building. By this means the Petit Corbeau is enabled to exercise a command over the passage of the river, and has in some instances compelled traders to land with their goods, and induced them, probably through fear of offending him, to bestow presents to a considerable amount, before he would suffer them to pass. The cabins are a kind of stockade buildings, and of a better appearance than any Indian dwellings I have before met with.

Two miles above the village, on the same side of the river, is Carver's Cave, at which we stopped to breakfast. However interesting it may have been, it does not possess that character in a very high degree at present. We descended it with lighted candles to its lower extremity. The entrance is very low and about eight feet broad, so that a man in order to enter it must be completely prostrate. The angle of descent within the cave is about 25°. The flooring is an inclined plane of quicksand, formed of the rock, in which the cavern is formed. The distance from its entrance to its inner extremity is twenty-four paces, and the width in the broadest part about nine, and its greatest height about seven feet. In shape it resembles a baker's oven. The cavern was once probably much more extensive. My interpreter informed me that, since his remembrance,

the entrance was not less than ten feet high and its length far greater than at present. The rock in which it is formed is a very white sandstone, so friable that the fragments of it will almost crumble to sand when taken into the hand. A few yards below the mouth of the cavern is a very copious spring of fine water issuing from the bottom of the cliff.

Five miles above this is the Fountain Cave, on the same side of the river, formed in the same kind of sandstone but of a more pure and fine quality. It is far more curious and interesting than the former. The entrance of the cave is a large winding hall about one hundred and fifty feet in length, fifteen feet in width, and from eight to sixteen feet in height, finely arched overhead, and nearly perpendicular. Next succeeds a narrow passage and difficult entrance, which opens into a most beautiful circular room, finely arched above, and about forty feet in diameter. The cavern then continues a meandering course, expanding occasionally into small rooms of a circular form. We penetrated about one hundred and fifty yards, till our candles began to fail us, when we returned. To beautify and embellish the scene, a fine crystal stream flows through the cavern, and cheers the lonesome dark retreat with its enlivening murmurs. The temperature of the water in the cave was 46°, and that of the air 60°. Entering this cold retreat from an atmosphere of 89°, I thought it not prudent to remain in it long enough to take its several dimensions and meander its courses; particularly as we had to wade in water to our knees in many places in order to penetrate as far as we went. The fountain

supplies an abundance of water as fine as I ever drank. This cavern, as I was informed by my interpreter, has been discovered but a few years. That the Indians formerly living in its neighborhood knew nothing of it till within six years past. That it is not the same as that described by Carver is evident, not only from this circumstance, but also from the circumstance that instead of a stagnant pool, and only one accessible room of a very differeut form, this cavern has a brook running through it, and at least four rooms in succession, one after the other. Carver's Cave is fast filling up with sand, so that no water is now to be found in it, whereas this, from the very nature of the place, must be enlarging, as the fountain will carry along with its current all the sand that falls into it from the roofs and sides of the cavern.

A little above we stopped to take a meridian altitude of the sun's lower limb, which we found to be 66° 42′.

Five miles above, the river St. Peter's comes in from the southwest. We arrived at the mouth of this river at 2 P. M., and layed by to dine. The St. Peter's is about two hundred yards wide at its mouth, and is navigable for Mackinaw boats between two and three hun dred miles in all stages of the water, and in high water much further. For about forty miles it has still and deep water; farther up there are occasional rapids, by which there are portages of moderate extent. There are three considerable Indian villages up this river, the first of which is about nine miles above its mouth. They are all different bands of the Sioux nation. The country at the junction of the rivers I shall have occasion to describe on my return

The rapids below the Falls of St. Anthony commence about two miles above the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peter's, and are so strong that we could hardly ascend them by rowing, poleing, and sailing, with a strong wind, all at the same time. About four miles up the rapids we could make no headway by all these means, and were obliged to substitute the cordel in place of the poles and oars.

Arrived at the Falls of St. Anthony at a quarter past seven. Winds favorable a part of the day. Encamped on the east shore just below the cataract. Distance twenty seven and a half miles.

Thursday, 17—The place where we encamped last night needed no embellishments to render it romantic in the highest degree. The banks on both sides of the river are about one hundred feet high, decorated with trees and shrubbery of various kinds. The post oak, hickory, walnut, linden, sugar tree, white birch, and the American box; also various evergreens, such as the pine, cedar, juniper, etc., added their embellishments to the scene. Amongst the shrubbery were the prickly ash, plum, and cherry tree, the gooseberry, the black and red raspberry, the chokeberry, grape vine, etc. There were also various kinds of herbage and flowers, among which were the wild parsely, rue, spikenard, etc., red and white roses, morning glory, and various other handsome flowers. A few yards below us was a beautiful cascade of fine spring water, pouring down from a projecting precipice about one hundred feet high. On our left was the Mississippi hurrying through its channel with great velocity, and about three quarters of a mile above

us, in plain view, was the majestic cataract of the Falls of St. Anthony. The murmuring of the cascade, the roaring of the river, and the thunder of the cataract, all contributed to make the scene the most interesting and magnificent of any I ever before witnessed.

The perpendicular fall of the water at the cataract, as stated by Pike in his journal, is sixteen and a half feet, which I found to be true by actual measurement. To this height, however, four or five feet may be added for the rapid descent which immediately succeeds the perpendicular fall within a few yards below. Immediately at the cataract the river is divided into two parts by an island which extends considerably above and below the cataract, and is about five hundred yards long. The channel on the right side of the Island is about three times the width of that on the left. The quantity of water passing through them is not, however, in the same proportion, as about one-third part of the whole passes through the left channel. In the broadest channel, just below the cataract, is a small island also, about fifty yards in length and thirty in breadth. Both of these islands contain the same kind of rocky formation as the banks of the river, and are nearly as high. Besides these, there are immediately at the foot of the cataract, two islands of very inconsiderable size, situated in the right channel also. The rapids commence several hundred yards above the cataract and continue about eight miles below. The fall of the water, beginning at the head of the rapids, and extending two hundred and sixty rods down the river to where the portage road commences, below the cataract is, according to Pike,

fifty-eight feet. If this estimate be correct the whole fall from the head to the foot of the rapids, is not probably much less than one hundred feet. But as I had no instrument sufficiently accurate to level, where the view must necessarily be pretty extensive, I took no pains to ascertain the extent of the fall. The mode I adopted to ascertain the height of the cataract, was to suspend a line and plummet from the table rock on the south side of the river, which at the same time had very little water passing over it as the river was unusually low. The rocky formations at this place were arranged in the following order, from the surface downward. A coarse kind of limestone in thin strata containing considerable silex; a kind of soft friable stone of a greenish color and slaty fracture, probably containing lime, aluminum and silex; a very beautiful stratification of shell limestone, in thin plates, extremely regular in its formation and containing a vast number of shells, all apparently of the same kind. This formation constitutes the Table Rock of the cataract. The next in order is a white or yellowish sandstone, so easily crumbled that it deserves the name of a sandbank rather than that of a rock. It is of various depths, from ten to fifty or seventy-five feet, and is of the same character with that found at the caves before described. The next in order is a soft friable sandstone, of a greenish color, similar to that resting upon the shell limestone. These stratifications occupied the whole space from the low water mark nearly to the top of the bluffs. On the east, or rather north side of the river, at the Falls, are high grounds, at the distance of half a mile from the river, considerably more elevated than the bluffs, and of a hilly aspect.

This remarkable part of the Mississippi, is not without a tale to hallow the scenery and add some weight to the interest it is naturally calculated to excite. Our Indian companion, the Shooter from the Pine Tree, related a story while he was with us, the catastrophe of which his mother witnessed with her own eyes.

A young Indian of the Sioux nation had espoused a wife with whom he had lived happily for a few years, enjoying every comfort of which a savage life is susceptible. To crown the felicity of the happy couple, they had been blessed with two lovely children on whom they doted with the utmost affection. During this time the young man, by dint of activity and perseverance, signalized himself in an eminent degree as a hunter, having met with unrivaled success in the chase. This circumstance contributed to raise him high in the estimation of his fellow savages, and draw a crowd of admirers about him, which operated as a spur to his ambition. At length some of his newly acquired friends, desirous of forming a connection that must operate greatly to their advantage, suggested the propriety of his taking another wife, as it would be impossible for one woman to manage his household affairs and wait upon all the guests his rising importance would call to visit him. That his consequence to the nation was everywhere known and acknowledged, and that in all probability, he would soon be called upon to preside as their chief. His vanity was fired at the thought; he yielded an easy compliance with their solicitations, and accepted a wife they had already selected for him. After his second marriage it became an object with him to take his new wife home, and reconcile his

first wife to the match, which he was desirous of accomplishing in the most delicate manner, that circumstances would admit. For this purpose he returned to his first wife, who was yet ignorant of what had taken place and by dissimulation attempted to beguile her into an approbation of the step he had taken. "You know," said he, "I can love no one so much as I love you; yet I see that our connection subjects you to hardships and fatigue, too great for you to endure. This grieves me much, but I know of only one remedy by which you can be relieved, and which, with your concurrence, shall be adopted. My friends from all parts of the nation, come to visit me, and my house is constantly thronged by those who come to pay their respects, while you alone, are under the necessity of laboring hard in order to cook their food, and wait upon them. They are daily becoming more numerous and your duties instead of growing lighter, are becoming more arduous every day. You must be sensible that I am rising high in the esteem of the nation, and I have sufficient grounds to expect that I shall ere long be their chief. These considerations have induced me to take another wife, but my affection for you has so far prevailed over my inclination in this respect, as to lead me to solicit your approbation, before I adopt the measure. The wife I take shall be subject to your control in every respect, and will always be second to you in my affections." She listened to his narration with the utmost anxiety and concern, and endeavored to reclaim him from his purpose, refuting all the reasons and pretenses his duplicity had urged in favor of it, by unanswerable arguments, the suggestions of unaffected love and conjugal affection.

He left her however, to meditate upon the subject, in hopes that she would at length give over her objections and consent to his wishes. She in the mean time redoubled her industry, and treated him invariably with more marked tenderness, than she had done before, resolved to try every means in her power, to dissuade him from the execution of his purpose. She still however found him bent upon it. She pleaded all the endearments of their former life, the regard he had for the happiness of herself and the offspring of their mutual love, to prevail on him to relinquish the idea of taking another wife; she warned him of the fatal consequences that would result to their family, upon his taking such a step. Till at length he was induced to communicate the event of his marriage. He then told her that a compliance on her part would be absolutely necessary. That if she could not receive his new wife as a friend and companion, she must admit her as a necessary incumbrance, at all events, they must live together. She was determined however, not to remain the passive dupe of his hypocrisy. She took her two children, left his house, and went to reside with her parents. Soon after her return to her father's family. she joined them and others of her friends in an expedition up the Missisippi, to spend the winter in hunting. In the spring as they were returning laden with peltries, she and her children occupied a canoe by themselves. On arriving near the Falls of St. Anthony, she lingered by the way, till the rest had all landed a little above the chute: She then painted herself and children, paddled her canoe immediately into the suck of the rapids, and commenced

singing her death song, in which she recounted the happy scenes she had passed through when she enjoyed the undivided affection of her husband, and the wretchedness in which she was involved by his inconstancy. Her friends alarmed at her situation, ran to the shore, and begged her to paddle out of the current; while her parents, in the agonies of despair, rending their clothes, and tearing out their hair, besought her to come to their arms. But all to no purpose; her wretchedness was complete and must terminate only with her existence. She continued her course till she was borne headlong down the roaring cataract and instantly dashed to pieces on the rocks below, No trace either of herself and children or the boat were ever found afterwards. Her brothers to be avenged of the untimely fall of their sister, embraced the first opportunity and killed her husband, whom they considered the cause of her death. A custom sanctioned by the usage of the Indians from time immemorial.

After having viewed the falls upon this side of the river, we attempted to cross the rapids in our boat, but the water was so low and the current so rapid, that we were compelled to return again to the same side, which we accomplished at the risk of having the boat wrecked upon a large rock, which we were but just able to shun. Made a second attempt, a little further down, in which we succeeded. Having taken a view of the cataract on both sides, we commenced descending the river at a quarter past ten, A. M., in hopes that we should arrive at the mouth of the St. Peter's in time to take an observation for the latitude of that place. But finding we were

likely to be pressed for time, we stopped one and a half miles above, where we found the altitude of the sun's lower limb. when on the meridian, to be 66°. After arriving at the St. Peter's we lay by two or three hours, in order to examine the country in that neighborhood. At the mouth of this river is an island of considerable extent, separated from the main by a slough of the Mississippi, into which the St. Peter's discharges itself. Boats in ascending the former, particularly in low water, usually pass through this slough, as it affords a greater depth than the channel upon the other side of the island. Immediately above the mouth of the St. Peter's is a tract of flat prairie, extending far up this river and about three hundred and fifty yards along the slough above mentioned. This tract is subject to inundation in time of high water; which is also the case with the flat lands generally, situated on both sides of these rivers. Next above this tract, is a high point of land, elevated about one hundred and twenty feet above the water, and fronting immediately on the Mississippi, but separated from the St. Peter's by the tract above described. The point is formed by the bluffs of the two rivers intercepting each other. Passing up the river on the brow of the Mississippi Bluff, the ground rises gradually for the distance of about six hundred yards, when an extensive broad valley of moderate depth commences. But on the St. Peter's the bluff retains nearly the same altitude, being intersected occasionally by ravines of moderate depth. A military work of considerable magnitude might be constructed on the point, and might be rendered sufficiently secure by occupying the commanding height

in the rear in a suitable manner, as the latter would control not only the point, but all the neighboring heights, to the full extent of a twelve pounder's range. The work on the point would be necessary to control the navigation of the two rivers. But without the commanding work in the rear, would be liable to be greatly annoyed from a height situated directly opposite on the other side of the Mississippi, which is here no more than about two hundred and fifty yards wide. This latter height, however, would not be eligible for a permanent post, on account of the numerous ridges and ravines situated immediately in its rear.

Re-embarked and descended to the Fountain Cave, where we landed again and went into the cave for the purpose of taking some of its dimensions, Owing to the different states of the atmosphere, we could not penetrate so far by fifty yards as we did yesterday, before our candles went out. We measured the distance as far as we went on this occasion, which we found to be one hundred and fifty yards. We embarked the third time, laid in a supply of wood for the night, kindled a fire in our cabouse, and concluded to float during the night. We regretted exceedingly that we could not spend more time in the enjoyment of the scenes we had been witnessing to-day, but were induced to forego the pleasure from the circumstance that our provisions were nearly exhausted, from a want of care in the distribution of them; that we had no whisky remaining, on the same account, which may be considered a necessary of life to those employed in the navigation of the Mis sissippi in hot weather. These concerns I had entrusted

to my Corporal, as it was impossible for me to manage them, and perform my other duties at the same time. But as he was appointed to officiate in that capacity at the commencement of the voyage, without ever having had the requisite experience before, he did not know how to distribute with proper economy, although he was extremely anxious to do so.

Friday, 18.—Floated all night, with no other inconvenience but occasionally running upon sand-bars. Landed at the River St. Croix for the purpose of examining the ground situated below the mouth of that river. At this place is a position well calculated for the command of both rivers; with the exception, that there is an island of the Mississippi, several miles long, situated opposite to the confluence of the two. On the west side of the Mississippi is a very small slough, that separates the island from the main land. This slough is navigable in high water, but its navigation may be effectually obstructed by constructing cheveux de frise and sinking them in the channel. With this exception a military post might be established here to considerable advantage, and would be sufficiently secure by occupying a commanding ground situated in rear of the site proposed, with an enclosed work constructed on the principle of the Martello Tower.

About twenty miles below the St. Croix met the grandson of Carver before spoken of. We parted with them the second day after leaving Prairie du Chien, and saw nothing more of them till this day. We stopped a few minutes with them and gave them some instructions, to enable them to find the cave. We lay by a while at

a Sioux village four and one-half miles above Lake Pepin in order to catch some fish, as we had nothing left of our provisions but flour. Our whisky also was all expended, and we had two hundred miles further to go before we could obtain a fresh supply. Caught three very fine catfish and killed a few pigeons. The village was kept in very nice order, exhibiting more signs of a well regulated police than any one I have met with on the voyage, with the exception of the Little Raven's before mentioned. The name of the chief of their village is Red Wing the elder. He and all his band were on a hunting tour at the time we were there. During our delay at this place Mr. H. and myself ascended a hill further down the river, called the Grange, or Barn, of which it has some faint resemblance. Its length is three-quarters of a mile and its height about four hundred feet. Its acclivity on the river side is precipitous, that on the opposite very abrupt. It is completely insulated from the other highlands in the neighborhood, which is also the case with many others, within a moder ate distance, though not in quite so remarkable a manner; for this is not only surrounded by valleys, but is also nearly insulated by water, an arm or bay of the river entering at the lower end of the hill and extending within three or four hundred yards of the river above. Immediately upon the highest part of the Grange is one of the numerous artificial mounds that are to be met with in almost every part of this western world. Its elevation above its base, however, is only about five feet. I have observed that the mounds on the Mississippi, above the Illinois, though probably more numerous, are

of a much smaller size generally than those below, having been erected perhaps by a different nation of aborigines.

From the summit of the Grange the view of the surrounding scenery is surpassed, perhaps, by very few, if any of a similar character that the country and probably the world can afford. The sublime and beautiful are here blended in the most enchanting manner, while the prospect has very little to terrify or shock the imagination.

To aid in forming an idea approximating in some degree to the reality of the scene, we may suppose that the country at the head of Lake Pepin, situated between the main bluffs of the grand Mississippi Valley, has once been inundated to the height of two hundred and fifty feet above the present water level. That at this time the lake embosomed numerous small islands of a circular, oblong and serpentine form. That from the main land also promontories and peninsulas projected into the lake on all sides, forming numerous capes, bays and inlets. That the country bordering upon the lake was an extensive plain, in many places variegated with gentle hills and dales of the same general level with the islands and promontories. We may then suppose that by some tremendous convulsion that must have shaken the earth to its centre, this vast body of water has been drained off to its present humble level and left the bed of the lake free of water, and furnished with a rich and fertile alluvion, well adapted to vegetation of all kinds. That afterwards the valleys and knobs assumed a verdant dress, and those places which were once the haunts of the finny tribes now became the resorts of the feathered, and we shall have a

faint idea of the outline of the scene. But to be impressed with the sublimity, and delighted with the beauty of the picture, a view of the original is indispens able.

A favourable breeze springing up about dark, we concluded to set sail, as it was only four and a half miles to the lake, and after our arrival there we should sail without obstruction either of trees or sand bars.

Saturday, 19.—We had got into the broadest part of the lake about midnight, when the wind began to blow stronger, and there were at the same time strong indications of an approaching storm; we shifted our course and made for the shore as fast as possible, which we fortunately reached before the storm became violent. The night was so dark that we could find no harbor in which to secure our boat. We were engaged about one hour in towing her along the beach, in hopes of finding one, but the violence of the storm increased and the boat began to fill with water, so that we were forced to take out all our baggage with the least possible delay, all of which we had the good luck to save, without its having received much injury. We then made fast the boat and left her to fill, as it was out of our power to prevent her filling while the surf ran so high and strong. We succeeded in pitching our tent after much trouble, and got our baggage deposited within it. Our next object was to kindle a fire, but on inquiry found that our apparatus for that purpose was completely drenched in water. I then tore a piece of the lining from my coat sleeve, being the only place where I could find it dry, and kindled a fire with some dry rotten wood the men chanced to find

in the dark. The day dawned soon after and we began to make preparations for starting again, though the storm continued with some abatement. We found that the most important parts of our baggage had received but little injury, and that our boat was not damaged. We embarked again and at half past six, rowed out in the lake till we could clear a point lying a little to the leeward of us, hoisted sail, and ran with great speed. The surf ran so high and strong that we were in great danger of filling several times, as the waves broke over the sides of our little bark. Called at the Indian village situated upon Sandy Point, the same that we left our chief at, on our outward voyage. He had promised to return with us, but during our absence had been prevailed upon to join the Indians of the village on a hunting expedition up the Chippeway river, in which they were then about to embark. The name of the chief of this village was Red Wing, the younger, son of Red Wing spoken of yesterday. We delayed here but a very few minutes. Sailed through the lake with a strong wind. At evening the weather became calm, and we concluded to float through the night. Lay by a short time about sunset to collect wood and kindle a fire in our caboose, during which caught three catfish.

Sunday, 20.—Met with no inconvenience in floating except running foul of sand-bars occassionally, from which we easily extracted ourselves. Passed Le Feuille, or the Leaf's village, at which there were no Indians to be seen, all of them having recently gone on a hunting campaign. Stopped at the sand bar, where we took observations to ascertain the height of the Bluff Island, on

our passage up. Here we found our axe which we lost on that occasion. Landed again on Bluff Island, for the purpose of ascending to the top of the hill, which I did in company with Mr. H. Here we had a view of the Indian village on Aux Ailes Prairie, as also of the beautiful scenery mentioned in my journal of Saturday, 12th inst. Here we discovered that what before appeared to be the main river bluffs on the left, just below the island, were a broken range of high bluff lands, towering into precipices and peaks, completely insulated from the main bluffs by a broad flat prairie. This range, in connection with the island, may be considered a great curiosity, when we reflect that their sides have once been buffeted by the billows of a lake, at least two hundred feet above the present water level. A little below we saw three Indians on shore, engaged in killing a rattle snake. They called to us and said that one of their band had been bit on his leg by the snake, upon which we waited for them to come to us. Immediately after the wound was inflicted they had cut out a piece of the flesh containing the wounded part, and applied bandages to the leg above. I proposed salt and water as a wash for the wound, but they objected, being prejudiced against admitting water to a wound in any case. I had no sweet oil or anything else that I thought serviceable, and could do nothing more but advise them to return as soon as possible to their encampment.

Layed by a while to ascend another hill, said to be the highest on the Missisippi. It is of a semi-conical form as it presents itself to the view from the river, but

after ascending, it appears to be a ridge, the highest part of which projects towards the river, forming a high prominent peak, cleft perpendicularly from its summit about two hundred or two hundred and fifty feet. From this point it declines gradually till it loses itself in the bases of other hills farther from the river. The view from its summit direct to the river is rendered exceedingly ter rific by one of the most frightful precipices I ever beheld. Even the largest trees below appear like stunted shrubbery, and the river seems to be almost inaccessible from its vast depression. I took observations for estimating the height of the hill, agreeably to which its elevation above the water is one thousand feet, but I am inclined to think some mistake was committed either in the measurement of the base line or in reading the angles from my sextant, as by the estimate the hill is much higher than I should judge it to be from its appearances. From this hill we also had a view of Bluff Island and its neighboring heights on the left shore, as well as the main bluffs of the river as far as the eye could reach. The beauty, grandeur, and magnificence of the scene, completely baffles description. The most curious and wonderful part of the scenery was the passage of the river between the main bluffs on the right and the insulated range before mentioned, on the left of the river. Here the river, not contented as in other places to meander through a valley several miles in width, seems to have left its original channel, preferring to cut a passage, just wide enough for its accommodation, through a cape or promontory six or eight hundred feet high, rather than embellish an extensive and beautiful lawn with its

peaceful waters. This phenomenon can be accounted for on no other principle, than the existence of a lake that once occupied the valley of the Mississippi, filling it to the height of many hundred feet above the present water level. This vast body of water may have given occasion to billows which wore upon the sandstone formations of the lake shores, and in process of time formed inlets, bays, peninsulas, and islands, so that when the water was drained off to its present level, the highlands and valley retained these singular formations, as testimonials of the great damages they had experienced. On the top of the hill we collected many interesting specimens of minerals, such as crystals of iron ore, silicious crystalizations, beautifully tinged with iron, some of them purple, others reddish, yellow, white, etc., crusts of sandstone strongly cemented with iron, and I think set with solid crystals of quartz, etc. This hill would seem to be entitled to the appellation of mountain, were it not that the neighboring heights, and the highlands generally on this part of the river have very nearly the same altitude.

Monday, 21.—Floated last night also; had made very little progress on account of bad winds. While we stopped to breakfast, caught several fish, which, since we have no meat, are become essential to a healthy subsistence, particularly as my men have hard duty to perform.

Met twelve canoes of Fox Indians on a hunting tour from the Upper Ioway River. There were three very aged squaws with them, one of whom was entirely blind. She was busily engaged in twisting slips of bark for the

purpose of making rush mats. This labor, notwithstanding her blindness and great age, she performed with much expedition.

Passed the Painted Rock on the right of the river, nine miles above Prairie du Chien. It has obtained this name from its having numerous hieroglyphics upon it, painted by the Indians. These figures are painted on a cliff nearly perpendicular, at the height of about twenty-five feet from its base, Whenever the Indians pass this cliff they are in the habit of performing certain ceremonies, which their superstition leads them to believe are efficacious in rendering any enterprise in which they may be engaged, successful.

Arrived at Prairie du Chien a little after nine o'clock in the evening, having accomplished the trip from this to the Falls of St. Anthony and back again, in thirteen days, being three days sooner than I had expected to return at the time of my departure from this place.

Tuesday, 22.—Found my friends at this place all very well excepting Captain Duffhey who had been bitten by a rattlesnake on the day of my departure. He received the wound in the instep where the tooth of the snake penetrated to the bone. He applied a bandage upon his leg in the first instance, and resorted to medical aid as soon as it was practicable. When he was bitten he was in the woods four miles from home, consequently the poison must have had a considerable time to diffuse itself, before he could apply a remedy. His foot and leg swelled very much and became black, but the remedies applied proved efficacious, and he is now past danger, and is so far recovered that he is able to walk about with ease.

Wednesday, 23.—Dr. Pearson, Lt. Armstrong and myself, took horses and rode about the neighborhood this morning, for the purpose of discovering a position better calculated for a military post, than the present site of Fort Crawford. We went down the Prairie to the Ouisconsin, then followed the course of that river about three miles above the commencement of the highlands, but could discover no position that was not objectionable in very many respects. The Prairie itself is separated from the Ouisconsin by a broad marshy tract of land, annually subject to inundation, which is the case also with some parts of the Prairie. The highlands are intersected by numerous ravines, and exhibit a constant succession of hills, ridges, and valleys of various depths. They are inaccessible from the river at many points, and overlook it at none, the view, as well as the command of the river, being effectually obstructed by the numerous islands which it imbosoms. Although there was no opportunity to accomplish the object of our reconnoitre, still, however, we had occasion to be highly gratified with a survey of curiosities that have baffled the ingenuity and penetration of the wisest to account for them. The curiosities alluded to are the remains of ancient works, constructed probably for military purposes, which we found more numerous and of greater extent upon the highlands, just above the mouth of the Ouisconsin, than any, of which a description has been made public, that have yet been discovered in the western country. They consist of ridges, or parapets of earth, and mounds, variously disposed so as to conform to the nature of the ground they are intended to fortify, the

surface of which is variegated with numerous ridges, hills, valleys and ravines. The works of course have no regular form, The parapets are generally about three and a half feet high, with no appearance of a ditch upon either side, and are intercepted at short intervals by gateways or sallyports, most of which are flanked by parapets or mounds. The parapets are mostly situated upon ridges, some few, however, are disposed after the manner of traverses, being carried across the interior of the works in various directions. The mounds are from four to six feet in height, at present of a circular form, though square probably when first constructed. They are arranged in a straight direction, are about twenty feet asunder, and form continuation of the fortified lines, having the same direction as the parapets. Wherever there is an angle in the principal lines, a mound of the largest size is erected: the parapets also are generally terminated by mounds of this description, at the extremities of lines as also at the gateways. In many places the lines are composed of parapets and mounds in conjunction, the mounds being arranged along the parapet at their usual distance from each other and operating as flank defences to the lines. These works exhibit abundant evidence of having been erected at the expense of a vast deal of labor. Works of a similar character are to be found scattered through this part of the country in various directions. At what period they were constructed, and by what race of people, must in all probability forever remain a desideratum.

Thursday, 24.—Capt. Duffhey, Lt. Armstrong, Mr. Hempstead and myself took an excursion into the neigh-

boring high lands to-day, in order to ascertain, in some measure, of what character they are, and to visit some of the remains of ancient fortifications. We rode across the country about twenty miles to Kickapoo Creek, and returned again in a course different from that in which we travelled out. The country is divided into numerous hills, or rather ridges, of various shapes and dimensions, but generally of an equal altitude; by valleys and ravines, some of which have fine streams of spring water running through them. The hills are generally elevated from three to four or five hundred feet above the valleys; handsomely rounded upon their tops, but abrupt and precipitous on their sides, and almost inaccessible except through the numerous ravines by which they are cut. The valleys are many of them broad, and appear well adapted to tillage and pasture. The highlands also appear well calculated for the raising of grain. The country is generally prairie land, but the hills and valleys are in some places covered with a scattering growth of fine timber, consisting of white, red, and post oak, hickory, white walnut, sugar tree, maple, white and blue ash, American box, etc. The antiquities were of a similar character with those described yesterday. Of these we saw numerous examples upon the hills and ridges, as also a few in the valleys. Those on the ridges, had the appearance of being designed to resist an attack, on both sides, being for the most part a single parapet, of considerable extent, crossed at right angles by traverses at the distances of twenty or thirty yards from each other, and having no ditch upon either side. Those in the valleys appeared to have been constructed to com-

mand the passage of the particular valley in which they were situated. Some appeared as if they had been intended to defend against the attack of cavalry, as they were constructed across the heads of ravines through which horses must pass in order to get upon the top of the hills. We saw no works that exhibited signs of having been completed enclosures, but the whole were in detached parts, consisting of parapets, traverses, and mounds, forming lines and flanks.

We had designed also to visit a natural curiosity upon [the] banks of the same creek, but were not able to find it. Agreeably to the representations of several Indians whom I consulted on the occasion, it is a gigantic figure of stone resembling the human shape. It stands erect in a niche or recess formed in a precipice, the brow of which projects forward so as to overhang the figure. There are prominent parts of the precipice also, upon either side of the figure, resembling the jambs of a fire-place. The Indians pay religious homage to this figure, sacrificing tobacco, and other things they deem valuable, at the foot of it. The history they give of it, is, that a long time since a very bloody battle was fought at Prairie du Chien, in which vast numbers were slain and the inhabitants of the Prairie vanquished. That a very good woman, after having received several wounds, made her escape from the carnage, and fled to the neighboring hills, where she was like to famish for want of provisions. That the Good Spirit, pitying her condition converted her into this monument of veneration and for a long time killed every Indian that dared approach in sight of it. But at length being tired of this havoc, he

stayed his hand, and now suffers them to approach and worship it with impunity.

Friday, 25.—Spent the day in measuring and planning Fort Crawford and its buildings. The work is a square of three hundred and forty feet upon each side; and is constructed entirely of wood, as are all its buildings, except the magazine, which is of stone. It will accommodate five companies of soldiers. The enclosure is formed principally by the quarters and other buildings of the garrison, so that the amount of all the palisade work does not exceed three hundred and fifty feet in extent. The faces of the work are flanked by two block houses, one of which is situated in the S. E. and the other in the N. W. corner of the Fort, being alternate or opposite angles. The block houses are two stories high, with cupolas or turrets upon their tops. The first stories are calculated as flank defences to the garrison; the second afford an oblique flank defence, and at the same time guard the approach of the angles in which the block houses are situated, being placed diagonally upon the first. The turrets are fortified with oak plank upon their sides, and furnished with loop holes for muskets or wall pieces. The quarters, store-houses, etc., are ranged along the sides of the garrison, their rear walls constituting the faces of the work, which are furnished with loop holes at the distance of six feet from each other. The buildings are constructed with shed roofs, sloping inwards, so that their outward walls are raised twenty feet from the ground, thus presenting an insurmountable barrier to an assailing enemy; the buildings are all rough shingled, except the block houses which are

covered with smooth shingles. The rooms are generally about nineteen feet square, most of them floored with oak plank, and all that were designed for quarters furnished with a door and window each in front. The magazine is twenty-four by twelve feet in the clear, the walls four feet thick, and the arch above supported by a strong flooring of timber. It has at present no other covering but the arch; preparations are making, however, to erect a roof over it, and cover it with shingles. The works are for the most part constructed of square timber, and the crevices in the walls of the buildings plastered with lime mortar, in such a manner as renders them comfortable habitations, except that the roofs are not well calculated to shed rain. The troops, however, are at present busily occupied in dressing shingles, cutting timber, etc., in order to repair the defective parts of the works, and make additions where they are found necessary. Piazzas are to be built in front of all the quarters, floors to be laid, ceiling, etc., to be made, all of which are necessary to cleanliness and a well regulated police within the garrison. The building of these works was commenced on the 3d of July, 1816, by the troops stationed here under the command of Colonel Hamilton; previous to which no timber had been cut or stones quarried for the purpose. These articles were to be procured at the distance of from two to five miles from the site of the garrison, and transported to it in boats. The country where they were be be procured was so broken and hilly, that teams could not be employed even to convey them to the boats, but all must be done by manual labor. With all these disadvantages and hardships, and still

more, with a corrupt and sickly atmosphere, have the soldiery at this place had to contend, in order to construct works of sufficient magnitude and strength to guard this part of our frontier. A considerable part of the work was done in the winter season, when at the same time they were compelled to get their fuel at the distance of two or three miles from the garrison, and in many instances to draw it home by hand. Yet no extra compensation, either in pay or clothing, has been allowed them in a single instance, although the whole of this labor was unquestionably extra duty.

In regard to the eligibility of the site upon which Fort Crawford is situated very little can be said in favor, but much against it. Its relation to other parts of the country would seem to give it a high claim to consideration as a military post; as also its central situation with respect to our Indian neighbors. But the disadvantages under which works of moderate expense particularly must lie, in this neighborhood, are too numerous to admit a doubt of the impropriety of placing confidence in works of a similar character with those now constructed while in a state of war. The first objection that presents itself, is, that the situation, from the nature of the place, must be unhealthy. It is almost surrounded with stagnant water at a short distance from the fort. The country about it abounds in marshes and low lands, annually subject to be overflowed, and the part of the river lying immediately in front of the place, is very little better than a stagnant pool, as its current is hardly perceptible in low water. In a military point of view the objections to the present site, as also to any other

that might be fixed upon in the neighborhood are various, and cannot easily be obviated. No complete command of the river can be had here, on account of the islands which it imbosoms. Directly opposite to the fort, and at the distance of six hundred and fifty yards from it, is an island two and a half miles in length, and seven hundred yards in breadth, separated from the east shore by a channel five hundred yards wide, and from the west by a channel two hundred and fifty yards. Both above and below this are numerous others effectually obstructing the command of the river from any single point. At the distance of about six hundred yards from the fort, to the south and east of it, is a circular valley, through which troops might be conducted completely under cover and secure from the guns of the fort. At the entrance of this valley the enemy's troops landed in time of the late war, and under cover of a small mound a little in advance of it, commenced cannonading the old garrison (which occupied the highest part of the site of the present fort) with a three pounder, and soon compelled them to surrender. Immediately in rear of the place are the main river bluffs, at the distance of about one and a half miles from the fort. These are heights elevated four hundred and twenty feet above the site of the garrison, and overlook the whole of the Prairie du Chien. The site has been repeatedly subject to inundation, which is alway to be apprehended when excessive floods prevail in the river. Indeed, the military features of the place generally are so faint and obscure, that they would hardly be perceptible, except by occupying several of the neighboring heights with castles and towers in order

to protect an extensive work erected in the prairies below.

Saturday, 26.—Prairie du Chien is a handsome tract of low land, situated on the east side of the Mississippi, immediately above its confluence with the Ouisconsin. It is bounded on the east by the river bluffs, which stretch themselves along upon that side in nearly a straight direction, and occasionally intersected by ravines and valleys which afford easy communications with the hilly country situated back of the bluffs. The prairie is about ten miles in length, and from one to two and a half miles in breadth. In some parts it is handsomely variegated with swells and valleys that are secure from the inundations of the river; but in others, flat marshy lands, sloughs and pools of water present themselves, which, although they add some embellishments to the scenery, serve to render the place unhealthy. Many parts of the prairie, which are sufficiently dry for cultivation in the summer season, are subject to be overflowed whenever floods prevail in the river. The southerly part of the prairie is separated both from the Mississippi and the Ouisconsin by a large tract of marshy woodland extending along the shores of both rivers, and from half to one and a half miles in width. This tract in many places is cut by sloughs of moderate depth communicating with the main channels of the two rivers. The view of both rivers, from the prairies is generally obstructed by the trees and shrubbery growing upon the marshy lands, as also by the numerous islands which both rivers imbosom, so that neither of them can be seen except in a very few instances. The bluffs on the

west side of the Mississippi present themselves in gigantic forms immediately along the margin of the river, and extend up the river many miles, till they appear to be interrupted by those on the east. South of the Ouisconsin, the bluffs of the two rivers intercept each other, and form a stupendous promontory, between which and Pike's hill on the west, opens a broad vista, through which the two rivers flow, after having mingled their waters.

The village of Prairie Du Chien, according to Pike, was first settled by the French in 1783. A man by the name of Giard, who died suddenly during my voyage up the Ouisconsin, is said to have been the first settler. He was of French and Indian extraction. Pike mentions two others, M. Antaya and Dubuque, who established themselves here at the same time with Giard. The ground occupied by these settlers was at a little distance below the present village. Exclusive of stores, workshops, and stables, the village at present contains only sixteen dwelling houses occupied by families. These are situated on a street parallel with the river, and about one half mile in length. In rear of the village, at the distance of three quarters of a mile, are four others. Two and a half miles above are five; and at the upper end of the prairie, five miles from the village, are four dwelling houses. Besides these, there are several houses situated upon different parts of the prairie, in all not exceeding seven or eight; so that the whole number of family dwellings, now occupied, does not exceed thirty-eight. The buildings are generally of logs, plastered with mud or clay; some of them comfortable habitations, but none of them exhibit any display of elegance or taste.

The inhabitants are principally of French and Indian extraction. There are very few of them that have not savage blood in their veins. If we compare the village and its inhabitants in their present state with what they were when Pike visited this part of the country, we shall find that instead of improving they have been degenerating. Their improvement has been checked by a diversion of the Indian into other channels, and their degeneracy accelerated not only by a consequent impoverishment of the inhabitants, but in addition to natural decay, their unconquerable slothfulness and want of enterprise.

About one mile back of the village is the Grand Farm, which is an extensive enclosure cultivated by the inhabitants in common. It is about six miles in length, and from a quarter to half a mile in width, surrounded by a fence on one side and the river bluffs on the other, and thus secured from the depredations of the cattle and horses that were at large upon the prairies. Upon this farm, corn, wheat, potatoes, etc., are cultivated to considerable advantage; and with proper care, no doubt, large crops of these articles, together with fruits of various kinds might be raised. They have never yet taken pains to seed the ground with any kind of grain except the summer wheat, which is never so productive as the fall or winter wheat. Rye, barley, oats, etc., would undoubtedly succeed well upon the farm.

The soil of the prairie is generally a silicious loam, containing more or less black mold, and is of various depths, from one to three feet. Below this is a bed of sand and small pebbles, extending probably to a con-

siderable depth, and alternating with veins of clay and marl.

There are numerous antiquities discoverable upon various parts of the prairie, consisting of parapets, mounds and cemeteries; relative to which the Indians have no traditions, and the oldest of them can give no account. They only suppose that the country was once inhabited by a race of white people like the present Americans, who have been completely exterminated by their forefathers. This supposition is grounded upon the circumstance of their having discovered human bones in the earth buried much deeper than the Indians are in the habit of burying their dead, and never accompanied by any implements of any kind, which the Indians have always been accustomed to bury with the body of their proprietor. Tomahawks of brass and other implements, different from any the present Indians make use of, have also been found under the surface of the ground. They consider also the ancient fortifications another proof of the correctness of this opinion, as none of the Indians are in the habit of constructing works of a similar character and indeed are unacquainted with the utility of them.

Mr. Brisbois, who has been for a long time a resident of Prairie du Chien, informed me that he saw the skeletons of eight persons, that were found in digging a cellar near his house, lying side by side. They were of gigantic size, measuring about eight feet from head to foot. He remarked that he took a leg bone of one of them and placed it by the side of his own leg in order to compare the length of the two. The bone of the

skeleton extended six inches above his knee. None of these bones could be preserved as they crumbled to dust soon after they were exposed to the atmosphere.

The mounds probably were intended both as fortifications and cemeteries, as most of them (perhaps all) contain human bones, and at the same time appear to serve as flank defences to fortified lines. Whether the bones they contain are of the same character as those described by Mr. Brisbois I have not been able to ascertain.

The Prairie du Chien, or the Prairie of the Dog, derives its name from a family of Indians formerly known by the name of the Dog Indians, headed by a chief called the Dog. This family or band has become extinct. The Indians have some tradition concerning them. They say that a large party of Indians came down the Ouisconsin from Green Bay. That they attacked the family of the Dogs, and massacred almost the whole of them, and returned again to Green Bay. That a few of the Dogs who had succeeded in making their escape to the woods, returned after their enemies had evacuated the Prairie, and reestablished themselves in their former place of residence, and that these were the Indians inhabiting the Prairie at the time it was first settled by the French.

The inhabitants of Prairie du Chien have lately caused two small schools to be opened, in one of which the English language is taught and in the other the French. This augurs well of the future respectability of the place, if at the same time they would barter their slothful habits for those of industry.

Sunday, 27.—Having accomplished my business at the Prairie, I took leave of my friends, the officers of the

garrison, to whom I feel greatly indebted for the politeness and attention they have shown me, and particularly to the commanding officer Capt. Duffhey. The Sutler also, Capt. Owens, evinced his friendship for me and the cause in which I was engaged, by cheerfully supplying me with funds without which I could not have prosecuted my voyage with expedition or comfort. We re-embarked at 10 o'clock A. M. to descend the Mississippi. My crew now consisted of only five men, the same I took with me from Belle Fontaine, with the exception of Sheffield.

Last evening Messrs. Gun and King arrived at the Prairie from the Falls of St. Anthony. Whether they accomplished the object of their trip, viz: to establish their claim to a tract of country ceded by the Indians to their grandfather Carver, I had no time to inquire, but presume there is no ground for supposing they did, as they told me before they could find but one Indian, who had any knowledge of the transaction or was in the least disposed to recognize the grant. That they do not consider the cession obligatory upon them is very evident, from their having ceded to the United States, through the negotiations of Pike, two parcels of the same tract specified in the grant in the favor of Carver.

Just before night we met the contractor Mr. Glen, on his way to Prairie du Chien, with provisions for the supply of the garrison at that place. He left St. Louis on the 8th day of June, seven days after I commenced my voyage, and has been almost constantly engaged in ascending the river ever since. When he left St. Louis his boat was very heavily laden, having provisions on board for the supply of Forts Edward, Armstrong, and

Crawford, for nine months. He found both rapids very difficult to pass, and has been frequently delayed by sand-bars. We spent some time with him and I supped on board his boat.

Monday, 28.—We floated last night till a strong head wind induced us to lay by. Had a shower of rain, accompanied by heavy thunder, about 2 A. M. Passed several canoes of Sauk Indians. The country on this part of the Mississippi which appeared beautiful, in a very high degree, when we ascended the river, seems to have lost half of its charms since we have visited the more noble scenery above.

Had strong head winds most of the day, so that our progress was very slow. Passed Dubuque's mines, in the morning, and arrived opposite the mouth of the River La Fievre, at evening, where we lay by to fish a little while, and afterwards commenced floating.

Tuesday, 29.—At 10 o'clock last night there came on a violent thunder storm so that we were obliged to put into shore. It continued, with short intervals of abatement, through most of the night. The lightning appeared almost one continued blaze, and the thunder seemed to shake the earth to its centre, while the rain poured down in torrents. Our boat was in danger of filling from the vast quantity of rain that fell, so that we had frequent occasions to bail, in order to prevent her sinking. Started early this morning with a gentle breeze in our favor, which soon failed us, and was succeeded by a calm. The scenery we have passed to-day, although in many respects it is far less interesting than many views further up the river, yet has numberless beauties

that gave pleasure to the eye of the beholder, amongst which, precipices of red sand stone, fronting the river, are some of the most striking. They give to the bluffs a blushing appearance, which affords a very pleasing contrast when viewed in connection with the verdant attire in which they are clad. Passed Apin Prairie a little before night where we had another view of the beautiful scenery of this part of the river. But the idea that this beautiful tract has for ages unfolded its charms with none to admire, but unfeeling savages, instead of having delighted thousands that were capable of enjoying them, casts a gloom upon the scenery, which added to the solemn stillness that everywhere prevails in these solitary regions, robs the mind of half its pleasures.

Wednesday, 30.—The night was very fine and we floated about fifteen miles. This morning we passed Mer a Doge Prairie, before spoken of. Should there ever be occasion to station troops above the head of La Roche rapids, the first eligible position may be found on this prairie, as there are many positions, where a complete command of the river may be had, and troops stationed upon them, would not be exposed to the sudden annoyance of an enemy, as there would be no defile, through which he could approach without being discovered. Descended the La Roche rapids, without much difficulty, although the water was very low, and we had no one on board who was acquainted with the course of the channel.

Arrived at Fort Armstrong at about 12 o'clock.

Thursday, 31.—Spent the day in reconnoitering the country about the fort. Took observations for the lati-

tude of Fort Armstrong, which I found to be 41° 32′ 33″ north.

Friday, August 1.—Having made the necessary surveys, I spent the day in plotting them and making a plan of the country adjacent to the site of Fort Armstrong. The island on which the fort is situated, is called Rock Island, from the circumstance of its being founded upon a rocky basis. It is situated immediately at the foot of La Roche rapids, is about three miles in length, and of various breadths, not exceeding one mile in the broadest part. At the lower extremity is the site of the fort, overlooking a large sheet of water, into which the Mississippi spreads immediately below, also extensive tracts of flat prairie situated on either side of the river within its valley. The valley is here about two miles wide and is bounded on both sides by bluffs of gentle declivity, cut in many places by ravines of moderate depth. The elevation of the country back of the bluffs or hills is generally about one hundred feet above the water level, that of the prairies within the valley eight or ten, and that of the site of the fort, which is nearly at an intermediate distance between the bluffs, is thirty-two feet. The general course of the river past the island is west, southwest. The width of the north channel is six hundred and forty yards; that of the south two hundred and seventy-five yards; and the width of the whole river immediately below the island is fourteen hundred yards, which is the average width for about one mile below. Four miles below the island, Rock river comes in from the northeast. Upon the point of land situated between this river and the Missis-

sippi above their confluence, is an extensive level prairie with a few scattering trees; this also is in full view from the fort. To the south of the lower end of Rock Island is another small island, annually subject to inundation, though sufficiently elevated to admit of cultivation in the summer season. It is separated from Rock Island by a very narrow slough. It is ninety-seven yards wide at the lower end, and tapers off to a point about eight hundred yards farther up. Immediately opposite to the fort on the south side of the river is a village of Fox Indians, containing about thirty cabins, with two fires each. The number of souls at this village is probably about five hundred. On Rock river, two miles above its mouth, and three across the point from Fort Armstrong, is a Sack village, consisting of about one hundred cabins, of two, three, and in some instances four fires each. It is by far the largest Indian village situated in the neighborhood of the Mississippi between St. Louis and the Falls of St. Anthony. The whole number of Indians at this village amounts probably to between two and three thousand. They can furnish eight or nine hundred warriors, all of them armed with rifles or fusees. The Indians of these two villages cultivate vast fields of corn, which are situated partly in the low ground and extend up the slopes of the bluffs. They have at present several hundred acres under improvement in this way. The soil of this part of the country is generally of an excellent quality, well adapted to the cultivation of corn, grain, pulse, potatoes, flax, melons, etc. The natural growth consists principally of oak, black walnut, cherry, and hickory, affording excellent timber for building and other

purposes. Rock Island itself furnishes an abundance of these articles, being altogether woodland, except the lower end of it, which was cleared for the accommodation of the fort. The prairies yield an abundance of fine grass, and the country generally is well adapted for grazing. The country back of the river bluffs is rolling, and in some parts hilly, but is everywhere accessible by gentle ascents and declivities. The surface of Rock Island is undulating, inclining to hilly in the upper parts.

The site of Fort Armstrong, in a military point of view, is eligible, in many respects, and at the same time has fewer objections than any other position that can be found on the Mississippi, from St. Louis to the river St. Peter's. Its advantages are, a healthful situation, an effectual command of the river and of the neighboring prairies to the full extent of cannon shot range, security from the attack of an enemy armed with anything less than heavy artillery, timber and limestone of a good quality and in great abundance, rich grounds for gardens situated immediately above the garrison, a copious spring of fine water issuing from the cliffs a few rods above the site, etc. Its disadvantages are, a commanding rise elevated fifteen feet above the site, at the distance of two hundred yards in an easterly direction, which, if occupied by a suitable work, would be an important advantage, as it would give to the place a more extensive command; rising ground to the northeast, at a distance of half a mile; the river bluffs north-northwest, thirteen hundred, and those to the south sixteen hundred and fifty yards from the site; the want of a convenient harbor for

boats in low water. These disadvantages, compared with every other position, I have seen upon the river below the St. Peter's, are of little weight in point of objection. The advantages, in point of locality, are the facilities of communication either by land or water between this and other important parts of the country, which will be mentioned in their proper place, as also its central position in relation to the Indians.

Saturday, 2.—Took the dimensions of the fort and its buildings, and made a plan of them. The fort is situated immediately upon the lower extremity of Rock Island. at which place the shores are perpendicular cliffs of limestone thirty feet high. In some instances the cliffs project over their base, and even some parts of the fort overhang the water. The fort has two entire faces only, the other two sides being sufficiently fortified against an assault by the cliffs before mentioned. The east face commences immediately upon the top of the cliff, where there is a block house (No. 1) two stories high and twenty-one feet square. The front upon this side is two hundred and seventy-seven feet, including a block house (No. 2) at the northeast corner of the fort, twenty-six feet square. The north face forms a right angle with the east, and extends from block house No. 2 to the north channel of the river, where it is terminated by block house No. 3, of the same dimensions as No. 1, presenting a front on this side of two-hundred and eighty-eight feet. Both faces are flanked by block house No. 2, the other block houses being placed in such a manner as to form a part of the front of the two faces. The block houses are all two stories high, their second

stories being placed diagonally upon the first. No. 2 has also a basement story which is used as a store house. The faces are made up principally by the rear walls of the barracks and store house. They are about twenty feet high, and furnished with two rows of loopholes for muskets. The spaces between the buildings are fortified by walls of stone, about eight feet high, supporting a breast-work of timber five feet high. The buildings ranged along the faces contain seven rooms, twenty feet square, upon each side; eight of which are occupied as soldiers' quarters, three as hospitals, two as store-houses, and one as guard house. On the south and west sides detached from other parts of the works, are situated two other buildings sixty-four feet long and sixteen wide, containing four rooms each, designed for officers' quarters. In the southwest corner is a two story building with low wings designed as quarters for the commanding officer, and offices for the use of the garrison. The body of the building is furnished with piazzas on both sides, and the whole combines a degree of taste and elegance worthy of imitation at all other military posts in this part of the country.

The works are constructed principally of square timber, the lower part of the block houses, including lower embrazures of stone. The magazine also is of stone, seven by ten feet in the clear, its walls four feet in thickness. Besides these there are a few other buildings, outside of the garrison, viz., a smith's shop, sutler's and contractor's stores, a stable, etc.

The plan of defence is at present incomplete, there being three points where an enemy might approach the

garrison completely under cover from the works. The first is at the lower point of the island directly under the brow of the cliffs which stretched along that extremity in nearly a straight direction, one hundred and fifty yards from the fort, eastwardly. The second is the rise before mentioned, eastward of the fort, beyond which there is a gentle declivity to the water's edge through an expanding valley. The third is a kind of bay situated just above a prominent part of the island, upon the north side, by which the fire from the fort into the bay would be obstructed. In this bay also is situated the spring before described, so that a command of this place is the more desirable on that account.

To remedy the first defect, a water battery may be constructed, immediately at the point of the island, which will give a far more complete command of the river below than the present works designed for that purpose, and at the same time its east face would completely flank the cliffs in that direction. To obviate the second and third defects, the block houses No. 1 and No. 3, might be removed, one on the commanding rise to the east, and the other on the eminence to the north of the garrison. These block houses in their present situation have no command that they would not have after being removed to the places proposed; and where they now stand, a breast work would be a far better substitute. No. 3, particularly, is badly situated; it projects considerably over the water and is partly supported by wooden props, so that should the river continue to undermine the bank, there would be great danger of its being precipitated into the water.

Having completed my plans, we re-embarked at 3 P. M. to descend the river. Passed Rock River four miles below the Fort. This River in high water is navigable about three hundred miles to what are called the Four Lakes, but in its present stage, which is the usual height at this season of the year, it is with great difficulty that a canoe can ascend it even three or four miles. There are numerous rapids which make their appearance in various parts of the river when the water is low, but at other times there are none perceptible throughout the above mentioned distance. The Indians residing upon this river, besides the Sack village before mentioned, are principally Winnebagoes, with some few of the Ioways and Folavoins, most of whom have their residence in the neighborhood of the Four Lakes. Between the head waters of Rock River and those of Lake Michigan, is a portage of moderate extent through which some trade is carried on with the Indians.

At evening when we had got twenty miles from the Fort I discovered that I had left my sextant, which made it necessary for us to encamp for the night inorder to send a man back for it in the morning, as it would be im possible for me to take observations for the latitude without it.

Sunday, 3.—Dispatched a man for the sextant early this morning, with orders to return to Fort Edwards, either in the contractor's boat which is daily expected down, or in the express boat which must come in a few days to Fort Edwards. Started a little after sunrise. The wind strong ahead all day. Encamped at the east side at the Red Banks, the wind being too strong to admit of floating.

Monday, 4.—Started at an early hour. Went on shore in the afternoon to revisit the ruins of Fort Madison. There was nothing but old chimneys left standing, and a covert way leading from the main garrison to an elevated ground in the rear, upon which there was some kind of an outwork. The covert way was fortified with palisades only. There were a number of fruit trees also standing upon the grounds formerly occupied as a garden, amongst which were the peach, the nectarine and the apple tree.

Descended the Rapids De Moin a little before sunset, but as none of us was acquainted with the channel, and the water very low, we ran foul of rocks a number of times which occasioned a leak in our boat, so that we had to keep a man constantly bailing, to prevent her filling with water. Arrived at Fort Edwards about dark, the men very much fatigued with rowing and getting the boat across the rapids.

Tuesday, 5. — Gave the men an opportunity to rest themselves, while I took an excursion on foot about the place.

Wednesday, 6.—Concluded to ascend the rapids again, and take a short tour in the country above. In this excursion I was joined by Dr. Lane and Capt. Calhoun. Having a fair wind, we set sail about 11 A. M., but after passing half way up the rapids, the wind failed us, and we had recourse to rowing. Ascended within four miles of the head of the rapids, and encamped for the night.

Thursday, 7. — Started early and arrived at the head of the Rapids, at Ewing's plantation, (formerly known by the name of the United States Agricultural Establish-

ment at half past 8 o'clock. Here we breakfasted, and as the wind was strong ahead, concluded to leave the boat and travel on foot further up. The two gentlemen before mentioned, myself and two soldiers, made up the party. We accoutered ourselves with rifles, ammunition and two days' supply of provisions, having a pack horse which was sent up for the purpose, to convey our baggage. We pursued the course of the river, on the east side, about twenty miles, to a prairie a little above Fort Madison. We then turned to the right, and traveled due east about six miles, when we encamped for the night near a small creek running north. Near the place of our encampment observed a tree marked by the surveyors as follows, R. 7 N. T. 7 W. S. 9, being the corner bound of one of the towns recently surveyed in this part of the country. The country in a direction due east from the river, in this place, is considerably broken, being interrupted by numerous water courses and ravines. But the season being unusually dry few of them contained any water at the time we were there.

Friday, 8.—Started about sunrise and traveled about S. W., and came upon an extensive prairie, about two miles from the place of our encampment. We had not proceeded far when we struck upon an Indian trail, leading nearly in the direction we contemplated to take, viz, W. S. W. We accordingly pursued it fifteen miles, and arrived at our boat about 12 o'clock. The whole of this distance lay through an extensive prairie, cutting off but a very small fraction of it. This vast tract of level country occupies most of the space included between the Mississippi and Illinois, commencing at Rock river on the

former, and Fox River on the latter, and extending downward nearly to the junction of the two.

After dining we commenced descending the river again. Passed the Rapids with less difficulty than before. Killed a pelican. Stopped awhile at the foot of the rapids to examine the stratifications which we found of a similar character with those generally along the Mississipi. While we were engaged in this examination one of the men found a hive of bees, which they soon took and found in it about two gallons of honey. Arrived at the garrison about 5 P. M.

Saturday, 9.—Spent the day in sketching the country about Fort Edwards, the garrison, etc. Fort Edwards is situated on the east side of the Mississippi, three miles below the foot of De Moyen Rapids. The Mississippi at this place is about one thousand four hundred yards wide; the main channel is on the west side; the passage on the east, particularly in low water, is obstructed by sand-bars. Directly opposite to the fort are two islands, dividing De Moyen, which comes in on the west at this place into three mouths. About one mile above the Fort, on the same side of the river, is an island of considerable extent. The bluffs at this place, approach immediately the water's edge, on the east, but on the west are separated from the river by an extensive tract of bottom land, covered with a fine growth of cotton-wood, sycamore and black walnut. The site of the Fort is elevated one hundred feet above low water mark. Its distance horizontally from the river is about sixty yards. At the distance of half a mile from the Fort, in a S. W. direction, is the site of Cantonment Davis, which

has been abandoned since the erection of fort Edwards. The country situated between the two sites is cut by deep ravines, which have meandering courses and approach in some places within musket shot range from both sites. To the N. E. of Fort Edwards is a commanding height at the distance of six hundred yards, separatated from the site of the Fort by a broad ravine, and elevated fifty feet above it, or one hundred and fifty feet above the river. The country adjacent to the Fort to the eastward and N. E. is considerably broken and abounds in ravines. Southeastwardly of the Fort the country has nearly the same level as the site on which it is built. The ground generally in the neighborhood is covered with a scattering growth of hickory, oak and watnut; the hill to the N, E. however is covered with deep woods. In regard to the military character of the place, many objections present themselves. 1st. No effectual command of either river can be had, not only on account of the great width of the Mississippi, but also, a slough leading to the west of the river from which it is separated by an island about one mile wide, and communicating with the Mississippi at the distance of one mile below, and one and one-half miles above, the site of the garrison. Through this slough the De Moyen discharges its waters and boats may pass with facility in time of high water. 2d. The ravine before mentioned would facilitate the approach of an enemy to within a musket shot range of the garrison, completely under cover from its fire. 3rd. The commanding height to the N. E. would render the position untenable though ever so strongly fortified, provided an enemy should

occupy it with ordnance of moderate calibre. 4th. From the situation of the place no important end can be answered by keeping up a garrison at it, except, perhaps, in times of actual warfare with the Indians. The only object that presents itself in this point of view, is its proximity to the rapids above, and the protection that might be afforded by the garrison to supplies, stores, etc., in their passage up the rapids. But in this respect no advantage would be derived from a garrison at this place more than at any other upon the river, provided transports of every kind are conveyed up and down the river in their proper season, viz., from the 1st of April to the middle of June, when there is always a sufficient depth of water to pass the rapids, with a current but little more accelerated than is to be met with in other parts of the river.

The distance from this place to Fort Clark on the Illinois is about seventy-five miles, across a level tract of prairie country, and about one hundred and twenty to Fort Osage on the Missouri, across a level country, principally prairie. In the neighborhood of rivers and creeks, in this direction, the country is somewhat broken.

Fort Edwards is a palisade work constructed entirely of square timber. It is intended to contain two block houses, situated in the alternate angles of the Fort; a magazine of stone; barracks for the accommodation of one company of soldiers; officers' quarters; hospital; store-rooms, etc., all to be constructed in a simple but neat style, but on a scale too contracted for comfortable accommodations. The works are in such a state of for-

wardness that they will probably be nearly completed this season. The magazine is still to be built, as are also the officers' quarters, hospital, etc. They have been wholly executed by the soldiery stationed there since June, 1816.

Sunday. 10.—Had to finish my plans of Fort Edwards and the adjacent country, and make preparations for resuming my voyage. I yesterday took an observation for the latitude of the place, and found the meridian altitude of the sun's lower limb to be 65° 12′ 46″.

Monday, 11.—Started at half-past six A. M. in company with Dr. Lane, to ascend the river De Moyen a few miles. We entered at its lowermost mouth, passed the middle, which at this time had no water passing through it. and ascended about two miles to the uppermost, through which is the principal discharge of the De Moyen in low water. We ascended the river about three miles higher, where the channel was completely obstructed by sand bars, affording not even a sufficiency of water for the navigation of the smallest canoes. The water in the river, however, was at this time unusually low. Nevertheless, there is seldom a sufficiency of water at this season of the year to admit boats to ascend very far. In the spring of the year deep floods usually prevail in the river, which render it navigable for Mackinaw boats one hundred and sixty or two hundred miles.

The river is about one hundred and twenty yards wide near its confluence with the Mississippi. Its upper mouth affords a considerable depth of water in all stages, but the channel is narrow and crooked, and almost blocked up in many places by drift wood, snags, and

sawyers. The passage by the lower mouths is much broader, but obstructed in many places by sand bars that are impassable in low water. The principal part of the Ioway Indians reside up this river, at the distance of about one hundred and twenty miles from its mouth.

Observed many fragments of coal, apparently of a good quality, scattered upon the sand bars in this river.

Returned about twelve. Dined and took my leave of Dr. Lane, and Captain Ramsay, commanding officer of the garrison. To Dr. Lane, in particular, I feel much indebted for his politeness and attention. Captain Calhoun was about to take his departure, on a visit to his friends, and I invited him to take passage to Belle Fontaine in my boat, with which he complied. We started at 2 P. M., the wind ahead. Met several canoes of Indians.

Tuesday, 12.—Floated till one at night, when we were compelled to lay by on account of an unfavorable wind accompanied with rain. Started again at sunrise. A favorable wind sprang up at 1 P. M., and we were able to sail the rest of the day.

Wednesday, 13. — Floated all night, and arrived at Burr's tavern early in the morning. Were able to sail most of the day moderately. Arrived at Little Cape Gris about dark, and encamped.

Thursday, 14. — Captain Calhoun, myself, and one of the men, took an excursion across the country this morning, and went in sight of the shores of the Illinois. Independent of the bluffs, there is a ridge of land elevated about eighteen feet above the water level, extending from the Mississippi to the Illinois. The distance be-

tween the two rivers along this ridge is about four and a half miles. The bluffs of the two rivers meet each other at the distance of about one mile in rear of the ridge, being a succession of knobs forming an extensive curve between the two rivers. The soil is of a good quality, inclining to sandy in some places. Growth principally oak, hickory, black and white walnut, sycamore, cottonwood, persimmon, and pawpaw. Upon the point below the ridge is a large prairie extending to the Illinois. There are five settlements at this place, including two immediately upon the Mississippi at Little Cape Gris. Started at half-past eight. Weather rainy. Called at Portage de Sioux. Arrived at the mouth of the Missouri about 6 P. M., and ascended it half a mile, where we encamped for the night.

Friday, 15.—Arrived at Belle Fontaine at nine in the morning, all in good health. Three of our men had experienced a short illness of one day each, having been attacked with fever and ague. But by a seasonable application of remedies neither of them had a return of the chill. The mode of treatment I adopted towards them was to administer a cathartic of calomel and jalap soon after the shake or chill was off, and the next day, sometime before the return of the fever was expected, require the patient to take freely of wine and bark, which invariably had the desired effect.

The time occupied in the voyage was seventy-six days.

Latitude in the Mississippi, 1½ miles above the mouth of the St. Peter's, 45° 7′ 8″.

Latitude at Prairie du Chien, 43° 7′; by a lunar observation, 43° 6 14″.

Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, 41° 27′ 29″.

At Fort Edwards, De Moyen, 40° 22′ 19″.

At the Wisconsin Portage, 44°.

SKETCH

OF THE

MISSISSIPPI RIVER,

BETWEEN

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN AND THE FALLS OF ST. ANTHONY,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

MAJOR LONG'S EXPEDITION OF 1817.

Scale 1—1,000,000.

Compiled from Major Long's Field Notes.
Corrected by the U. S. Land Surveys.

NOTE.—In consequence of the distortion caused by the method of projection employed, distances cannot be measured on this as on ordinary maps.

[Compiled by A. J. HILL, 1860.]

APPENDIX.

After the Journal had been printed, A. J. Hill, Esq., an accurate and accomplished Civil Engineer, forwarded a compiled itinerary of Major Long's tour, and a map illustrative of the same. It is with great pleasure that we append the correspondence, map and annotations of Mr. Hill.

E. D. N.

Saint Paul, October 15, 1860.

SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA,
September 29, 1860.

Rev. E. D. Neill, Sec. Minnesota Historical Society:

DEAR SIR:—I herewith have the pleasure to enclose for your use, a compiled itinerary of Major Long's tour of 1817, and a diagram to illustrate the same; and trust they will be received in proper time. The delay in the transmission of these papers arose from the fact of my having for the last five days been busily engaged in pressing literary labors. Enclosed is a memorandum containing a few topographical annotations, some of which may be suggestive if not literally used

A few words are necessary as to the map. After considerable thought, I concluded that an ordinarily projected map of the river would be of very little ornament or use to the book, from the necessarily small scale required to comprise the tract of country in question within a page of the size of your history, and that the system of projection technically called "Isometrical"—which allows of considerable foreshortening—might be employed to advantage, as not so much a *map* as a sketch or diagram, ("conspectes") is needed for such a work. Should you conclude to have it engraved, I would respectfully suggest that it may be done so in its integrity and without any *modernization* or additions as respects names or town-sites, my idea being to make only such a sketch as might have been made by Major Long himself at the time, except that I have corrected his meanderings by the United States Land Surveys. If engraved I will gladly inspect a proof, if sent (2 copies) to me at Red Wing, and return promptly with remarks,

On the sheet of "errata" furnished was one altered number which I could not at the time find for your inspection, so I have *traced* it on the corner of the enclosed diagram; it most probably is "50," if necessary a foot note might speak of its ambiguity.

I remain, Sir, very respectfully

Your obedient servant,

ALFRED J. HILL.

TOPOGRAPHICAL ANNOTATIONS, MAJOR LONG, 1817.

PREPARED BY A. J. HILL, CIVIL ENGINEER.

The "highest hill" is situated at the present village of Richmond in Winona County; its height above the level of the water was ascertained by Nicollet to be 531 feet.

Prairie Aux Ailes village, on the site of the present Winona.

Grand Encampment on Cypress Prairie, the present Tepeeotah.

In ascending the river immediately above Lake Pepin, Long kept to the middle and northern channels, which accounts for his not mentioning Barn Bluff here.

"Narrowest place in the river," the present Hastings.

Detour de Pin, now Pine Bend.

Petit Corbeau's village, afterwards Pig's eye.

Height of Barn Bluff according to Nicollet, above water 322 feet. Owen's "about 350." Red Wing City Survey (1859) "345½ feet above the level of the low water."

Table of distances on the Mississippi River from Prairie du Chien (Fort Crawford) to the Falls of Saint Anthony.

NAMES OF PLACES.	Estimated by Maj. Long in 1817. (Miles.) Inter-med'te.	Total.	Accord'g to the U. S. Land Surveys. (Miles.) Inter-med'te.	Total.
From Fort Crawford to the mouth of the Upper Iowa River	43	43	34½	34½
" mouth of upper Iowa River to mouth of Bad Axe River	5½	48½	4½	39
" mouth of Bad Axe River to mouth of Raccoon Creek	15	63½	9	48
" mouth of Raccoon Creek to mouth of Root River	13	76½	9	57
" mouth of Root River to mouth of La Crosse Creek	6½	83	4	61
" mouth of La Crosse Creek to lower mouth of Black River	1½	84½	1	62
" lower mouth of Black River to upper mouth of Black River	14	98½	12	74
" upper mouth of Black River to Trempeauleau mountain	8	106½	6	80
" Trempeauleau mountain to Prairie aux Ailes Village	9	115½	7	87
" Prairie aux Ailes Village to Eagle Cape	7	122½	5½	92½
" Eagle Cape to mouths of Embarras and Clear Water Rivers (united)	14	136½	10	102½
" mouth of Embarras &c., Rivers to mouth of Buffalo River	12	148½	10	112½
" mouth of Buffalo River to Grand Encampment	4	152½	3	115½
" Grand Encampment to mouth of Chippewa River	7	159½	7	122½
" month of Chippewa River to outlet of Lake Pepin	1½	161	1	123½
" outlet of Lake Pepin to Lovers' Leap	12	173	11½	135
" Lovers' Leap to Indian Encampment on Sandy Point on left	1	174	1	136
" Sandy Point to inlet of Lake, middle channel	9	183	9	145
" inlet of Lake to *opposite* mouth of Cannon River	5½	188½	5½	150½
" opposite mouth of Cannon River to the "Grand Eddy"	1½	190	1½	152
" the Grand Eddy to the mouth of Lake St. Croix	18	208	16½	168½
" mouth of Lake St. Croix to the "narrowest place in the river"	6½	214½	2½	171
" "narrowest place" to Detour de Pin (Pine Turn)	12½	227	10	181
" Detour de Pin to village of Petit Corbeau	16½	243½	11½	192½
" Village of Petit Corbeau to Carver's Cave	2	245½	2	194½
" Carver's Cave to Fountain Cave	5	250½	4	198½
" Fountain Cave to mouth of St. Peter's River	5	255½	3	201½
" mouth of St. Peter's River to commencement of rapids	2	257½	1½	203½
" commencement of rapids to mouth of creek on right hand	7½	265	6	209½
" mouth of creek to the foot of the Falls of St. Anthony	1	266	¼	210

EARLY FRENCH FORTS AND FOOTPRINTS

OF THE

VALLEY OF THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI.

By E. D. NEILL.

Officers of the army, when stationed at Fort Snelling, so boldly situated on a promontory of saccharoid sandstone at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi, or on duty at the more secluded posts Forts Ripley and Ridgely, in looking at the locality on Nicollet's map marked "Ruins of French Fort," have, with the writer, no doubt, often wished there were some works in the English language imparting information concerning the old French *régime* in that region. After a diligent search we have gathered a few facts, which are woven into an essay.

One of the most picturesque scenes in North America is the approach to Lake Pepin. For miles the steamboat ascending the Mississippi glides through an extended vista, crowned in the distance by an amphitheatre of hills which define the basin of the lake.

In the summer the islands of the river, luxuriant with vegetation, and the banks flanked by abrupt bluffs of limestone, with cedar trees standing like sentinels wherever root-hold can be found, make an impression which the traveller cannot erase in a lifetime.

Occasionally these steep walls of stone recede, with their fanciful outline of castles and battlements, and prairies

sufficiently elevated to be secure from the inundations of spring, appear, which were enticing spots to the ancient *voyageur* after a long and wearisome day's paddle in his frail canoe.

Just below Lake Pepin, on the west shore, opposite the mouth of the Chippeway river, is one of the beautiful plateaus, which captivated Nicholas Perrot, a native of Canada, who had been familiar from childhood with the customs and dialects of the Northwestern savages, and who had been commissioned by the Governor of Canada as commandant of the West.

Near the site of the present village of Wapasha, with twenty other bold spirits, he landed in the year 1683, and erected a rude log fort—the first European structure in that vast region—a generation before New Orleans, two thousand miles lower down on the same river, was founded.

This primitive establishment, within the limits of the new State of Minnesota, on some of the old maps is appropriately marked as Fort Perrot. During the winter of 1683–84, the party proceeded to visit the Sioux above the lake, but were met by a large delegation descending on the ice, who returned, and escorted the Frenchmen to their villages.

In 1685 it became necessary for Perrot to visit the Miamis, to engage them as allies against the English and Iroquois of New York. On his return from this mission he was informed by a friendly Indian that the Foxes, Kickapoos, Maskoutens, and other tribes had formed a plan to surround and surprise the fort and employ the munitions of war against their enemies the Sioux.

With all possible speed the commander came back; and on the very day of his arrival three spies had preceded him, and obtained admission under the pretext of selling beaver skins; and they had now left, and reported that Perrot was absent and that the fort was only guarded by six

Frenchmen. The next day, two additional spies came; but Perrot, in view of his danger, devised an ingenious stratagem. In front of the doors of the buildings, on the open square within the enclosure, he ordered all the guns to be loaded and stacked, and then the Frenchmen were made to change their dress after certain intervals, and stand near the guns; and thus he conveyed the impression that he had many more men than the spies had observed. After this display the spies were permitted to depart on condition that they would send from their camp a chief from each tribe represented. Six responded to the demand; and as they entered the gates their bows and arrows were taken away. Looking at the loaded guns, the chiefs asked Perrot "if he was afraid of his children."

He replied, "that he did not trouble himself about them, and that he was a man who knew how to kill."

"It seems," they continued, "that you are displeased."

"I am not," answered Perrot, "although I have good reason to be. The Good Spirit has warned me of your evil designs. You wish to steal my things, murder me, and then go to war against the Nadoueissioux. He told me to be on my guard, and that he would aid if you gave any insult."

Astonished at his knowledge of their perfidy, they confessed the whole plot, and sued for pardon. That night they slept within the fort; and the next morning their friends began to approach with the war-whoop. Perrot, with the fifteen men under his command, instantly seized the chiefs, and declared they would kill them if they did not make the Indians retire.

Accordingly, one of the chiefs climbed on to the top of the gate, and cried out, "Do not advance, young men, or you will be dead men. The Spirit has told Metaminens [the name by which they designated Perrot] our designs."

The Indians rapidly fell back after this announcement, and the chiefs were allowed to leave the fort.

In the year 1687 Perrot, Du Luth, and Chevalier Tonti came to Niagara, with allies, and united with Denonville in making a raid upon the Senecas of the Genesee Valley —which proved unsuccessful.

After this Governor Denonville, of Canada, furnished Perrot with a company of forty men for the purpose of a second expedition to the Upper Mississippi. Early in the spring of 1688 they had again reached Fort Perrot; and as soon as the ice disappeared from Lake Pepin the Sioux came down, and persuaded Perrot to ascend and visit them in their villages. His reception was most flattering. Placed on a beaver robe, he was carried, amid triumphal songs, to the lodge of the chief.

While Perrot went to New York, one of the Sioux chiefs, with a hundred followers, attacked the fort; but the nation disclaimed the act, and punished the perpetrators. As Perrot was about to depart, a French trader stated that he had lost a package. To discover the lost goods the following scheme was devised. The commander ordering one of his men to bring a cup of water, but really filled with brandy, he told the Indians that if the lost articles were not produced he would dry up their swamps and hiding places, and then immediately set on fire the brandy in the cup. The Sioux, terrified by what seemed to be the burning of water, and believing that he might set even a river on fire, organized themselves as detectives, and quickly found the missing property.

In 1689 Perrot returned to Green Bay, in Wisconsin, and they made a formal minute of his action as an officer duly deputed to establish friendly and commercial relations with the Sioux of Minnesota. The "proces-verbal" is as follows:—

"Nicholas Perrot, commanding for the king at the post

of the Nadouessioux, commissioned by the Marquis Denonville, Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of all New France, to manage the interest of commerce among all the Indian tribes and people of the Bay des Puants, Nadouessioux, Mascoutins, and other western nations of the Upper Mississippi, and to take possession in the king's name, of all the places where he has heretofore been, and whither he will go:

"We this day, the eighth day of May, one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine, do, in the presence of the Rev. Father Marest, of the Society of Jesus, missionary among the Nadouessioux; of Monsieur Boisguillot, commanding the French in the neighborhood of the Ouiskonche on the Mississippi; Augustin Legardeur, Esq., Sieur du Caumont, and of Messieurs Le Sueur, Hebert, Lemire, and Blein,

"Declare, to all whom it may concern, that being come from the Bay des Puants, and to the Lake of the Ouiskonches, and to the river Mississippi, we did transport ourselves to the country of the Nadouessioux, on the border of the river Saint Croix, and at the mouth of the river Saint Pierre, on the bank of which were the Mautantans; and further up to the interior, to the northeast of the Mississippi, as far as the Menchokatoux, with whom dwell the majority of the Songeskitons, and other Nadouessioux, who are to the northeast of the Mississippi, to take possession, for and in the name of the king, of the countries and rivers inhabited by said tribes, and of which they are proprietors."

To this report are attached the signatures of the witnesses.

Notwithstanding Perrot had so thoroughly examined this region, in the year 1703 La Hontan, with unblushing effrontery, published a book of travels, in which he claims to have explored a certain long river, near the head of Lake Pepin, on the banks of which lived many wonderful tribes.

He asserts that he entered this tributary on the 2d of November, 1688, and ascended in a canoe day by day until near Christmas—forgetting that canoe-navigation after the middle of December would be impossible, as the rivers would be frozen.

Although Bobé, a learned priest at Versailles, wrote to De L'Isle the geographer of the Academy of Sciences, as early as 1716, in these words, "Would it not be well to efface that great river which La Hontan says he discovered? All the Canadians, and even the Governor-General, have told me that this river is unknown," yet for nearly half a century there appeared on the maps of America, in the atlases of Europe, the Long River, compared with which the Amazon was diminutive.

Charlevoix, the distinguished and generally accurate historian of New France, speaks of La Hontan's alleged discovery "as fabulous as the Isle Barrataria, of which Sancho Panza was made governor;" yet, a century later, the distinguished astronomer, Nicollet, is completely misled, and, in a report to the Congress of the United States, says, "Having procured a copy of La Hontan's book, in which there is a roughly-made map of his long river, I was struck with the resemblance of its course, as laid down, with that of Cannon River, which I had previously sketched in my field-book."

In 1690 Perrot visited Montreal, and, after a brief stay, returned to the West. But, in consequence of the hostile feeling of the Fox Indians, it became unsafe to travel through the valley of the Wisconsin; and therefore Le Sueur, who had been several times in the far West since 1683, was despatched to La Pointe, towards the head of Lake Superior, to maintain peace between the Sioux and Ojibways, and thus keep open the Bois Brulé and St. Croix Rivers and have ingress to the valley of the Mississippi.

On the west side of the channel of the Mississippi,

between Lake Pepin and St. Croix, there is a continuous chain of islands; and on one of these, ten or twelve miles from the modern town of Hastings, there is a small prairie. Easily accessible with canoes, yet retired, it was the spot selected by Le Sueur for the second French post in Minnesota. Here, in 1695, by the order of Frontenac, he erected a fort, as a barrier to hostile tribes. Charlevoix, alluding to it, says, "The island has a beautiful prairie, and the French of Canada have made it a centre of commerce for the western parts, and many pass the winter here, because it is a good country for hunting."

After the establishment of this post, Le Sueur brought to Montreal Teeoskahtay, a great Sioux chief, and the first of that nation who had visited the city. In a council he thus addressed Governor Frontenac: "All of the nations have a father, who affords them protection; all of them have iron. But he was a bastard in quest of a father; he was come to see him, and begs he will take pity on him."

Placing twenty-two arrows on a beaver robe, and mentioning the name of a Sioux band for each arrow, he continued, and, among other things, said, "Take pity on us. We are well aware that we are not able to speak, being children; but Le Sueur, who understands our language and has seen all our villages, will inform you next year what will have been achieved by these Sioux bands represented by these arrows before you."

Poor Teeoskahtay never saw Dakotah-land again. After a sickness of thirty-three days, in the spring of 1696, he died at Montreal, and was buried in the white man's grave, instead of being elevated on the burial scaffold, as his fathers were.

Le Sueur did not then return to the Mississippi, but sailed for France, and obtained permission to open certain mines supposed to exist in what is now the State of Minne-

sota; but, while coming back to America, the ship in which he sailed was captured and carried into an English port.

After his release he proceeded to France, and in 1698 obtained a new license to take fifty men to the supposed mines; but arriving at Montreal, the Governor of Canada postponed the execution of Le Sueur's project, inasmuch as it had been thought best to abandon all posts and withdraw Frenchmen from the region west of Mackinaw.

Nothing daunted, the indomitable man once more crossed the Atlantic to press his claims at court. Fortunately, D'Iberville, a Canadian by birth, was made Governor of the new territory of Louisiana, and proved a friend and patron.

In company with the Governor, he arrived at a post not far from Mobile, on the Gulf of Mexico, in December, 1699. The next summer, with a felucca, two canoes, and nineteen men, he ascended the Mississippi. On the 14th of September he sailed through Lake Pepin, and on the 19th entered the river St. Pierre, now called by the Indian designation, Minnesota.

Ascending the latter stream, he reached the mouth of the Blue Earth; and on a small tributary, called St. Remi, he founded the third post of the French, situated in 44° 13′ north latitude. The fort was completed on the 14th of October, 1700, and called L'Huillier, after the Farmer-General in Paris, who had aided the project.

On the 10th of February, 1702, Le Sueur arrived at the post on the Gulf of Mexico, and early in the summer sailed for France in company with Governor D'Iberville. The next year the workmen left at Fort L'Huillier also came down to Mobile, being forced to retire by the hostility of Indians and the lack of supplies.

Cadillac, writing to Count Ponchartrain, under date of August, 1703, says:—

"Last year they sent M. Boudor, a Montreal merchant,

into the country of the Sioux to join Le Sueur. He succeeded so well in the trip, that he transported thither twenty-five or thirty thousand pounds of merchandise with which to trade. This proved an unfortunate investment. * * * * *

"I do not consider it best any longer to allow the traders to carry on trade with the Sioux under any pretext whatever, especially as M. Boudor has just been robbed by the Fox nation. * * * The Sauteurs, being friendly with the Sioux, wished to give passage through their country to M. Boudor, but, the other nations being opposed to it, differences have arisen which resulted in the robbery of M. Boudor. * * * The Sioux are a people of no value to us, as they are too far distant."

For twenty years the posts in Minnesota were abandoned by the Canadian Government, and the only white men seen were soldiers who had deserted, and vagabond *voyageurs*, who in their tastes and principles were lower than the savages. It was at length perceived that the eye of England was on the Northwest. A despatch from Canada to the French Government says, "It is more and more obvious that the English are endeavoring to interlope among all the Indian nations and attach them to themselves. They entertain constantly the idea of becoming masters of North America, persuaded that the European nation which will be the possessor of that section, will, in course of time, be also master of all America, because it is there alone men live in health and produce strong and robust children."

To thwart these schemes, which in time were accomplished, the French proposed to reopen the trade and license traders for the Northwest. On the 7th of June, 1726, peace was concluded by De Lignery with the Sauks, Foxes, and Winnebagoes, at Green Bay, and Linctot, who had succeeded St. Pierre, in command at La Pointe, on Lake Superior, was ordered to send presents, and, by the pro-

mise of a missionary, endeavor to detach the Sioux from their alliance with the Foxes.

Two Frenchmen were, therefore, sent to dwell in the Sioux villages, and to promise that if they would cease to fight the Ojibways, trade should once more be resumed, and a "black robe" come and teach them.

The trader and missionary in those days were in close alliance, and an Indian, in the presence of Count Frontenac, once said, "While we have beavers and furs, he who prayed was with us, but when our merchandise failed, those missionaries thought they could do no further service amongst us." The truth was simply this, however, that when the trader left it was unsafe for the man of God to remain.

The next spring arrangements were made to carry out these pledges, and preparations were made by traders and missionaries to accompany the convoy.

The Jesuit fathers of the seventeenth century, like Protestant missionaries of the nineteenth century, were disposed to contribute to science; and on April 30, 1727, the Governor of Canada wrote to France that the fathers appointed for the Sioux mission desired a case of mathematical instruments, a universal astronomic dial, a graduated demi-circle, a spirit-level, a chain, with stakes, and a telescope of six or seven feet tube.

On the 16th of June the convoy departed from Montreal for the Mississippi. The commander of the detachment was a fearless officer, De la Perriere Boucher, the same man who gained an unenviable notoriety as the leader of the brutal savages who sacked Haverhill, Massachusetts, a few years before, and exultingly killed the faithful Puritan minister of the village, scalped his loving wife, and then dashed out his infant's brains against the rocks.

On the Wisconsin shore, half-way between the fort and the head of Lake Pepin, there is a prominent bluff, four

hundred feet high, the last two hundred of which is a perpendicular limestone escarpment. The Sioux have always gazed upon it as "wawkon," for from its top, their legend saith, the beautiful Wenonah leaped into the arms of death rather than marry her parents' choice, and be embraced in the arms of a warrior she could not love.

Opposite the Maiden's Rock, as it is called, on the Minnesota side, there juts into the lake a peninsula, called by the French Point du Sable. It has always been a stopping place for the *voyageur;* and here, on September 17, La Perriere du Boucher, with his party, landed, and proceeded to build the fourth and last French post in the Valley of the Upper Mississippi, of which we have any record.

The stockade was one hundred feet square, within which were three buildings, subserving, probably, the uses of store, chapel, and quarters. One of the log huts was thirty-eight by sixteen, one thirty by sixteen, and the last twenty-five by sixteen feet in dimensions. There were two bastions, with pickets all around, twelve feet high. The fort was named in honor of the Governor of Canada, Beauharnois, and the fathers called their mission-house, "St. Michael the Archangel."

Guignas and a companion were the Jesuits in charge. Mr. Shea, whose zeal in collecting everything the Jesuits wrote pertaining to America entitles him to our regard, in his compilation of "Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi," has inserted an interesting letter from Guignas, written in May, 1728.

The father says, "On the morning of the 4th of November (1727), we did not forget it was the general's birthday. Mass was said for him in the morning, and they were well disposed to celebrate the day in the evening, but the tardiness of the pyrotechnist caused them to postpone the celebration to the 14th, when they set off some very fine rockets and made the air ring with a hundred shouts of

Vive le Roy! and *Vive Charles de Beauharnois!* * * * * What contributed much to the amusement, was the terror to some lodges of Indians who were at that time around the fort. When these poor people saw the fireworks in the air, and the stars fall down from heaven, the women and children began to fly, and the most courageous of the men to cry for mercy, and to implore us very earnestly to stop the surprising play of that wonderful medicine."

The spring of 1728 was remarkable for floods, and the waters rose so high as to cover the floors of the fort. This year also, in consequence of the hostility of the Foxes, the majority of the traders who had applied for the new establishments withdrew with the missionaries. In going to Illinois during the month of October, the zealous Guignas was captured by some of the allies of the Foxes, and was only saved from being burned by the friendly interposition of an aged Indian. After five months of bondage he was set free.

Several years after this the post seems to have been rebuilt a few hundred feet from the shore, beyond the reach of high water, and to have been under the charge of St. Pierre, in the language of a document of that day, "a very good officer, none more loved and feared." Father Guignas also revisited the post, but the Sioux were not friendly.

The Governor of Canada, under date of May 10, 1737, writes, "As respects the Sioux, according to what the commandant and missionary have written relative to the disposition of these Indians, nothing appears wanting; but their delay in coming to Montreal must render their sentiments somewhat suspected. But what must still further increase uneasiness, is their attack on the convoy of M. de la Veranderie." Captain St. Pierre appears to have been the last French officer that resided at the post, although there were traders there in 1745–46, for that winter the lessees lost valuable peltries by a fire.

Jonathan Carver, the first English traveller to the Falls of St. Anthony, in 1766, describing Lake Pepin, says, "I observed the ruins of a French factory, where it is said Captain St. Pierre resided and carried on a great trade with the Naudowessies before the reduction of Canada."

We believe that further research will show that this same Captain St. Pierre became the aged Legardeur St. Pierre, in command of the rude post in Erie County, Pa., in December, 1753, to whom Washington, just entering upon his manhood, bore a letter from Governor Dinwiddie, and, after being courteously treated, was sent home with a dignified but decided reply.

The present article, it is thought, contains all the knowledge at present accessible in relation to the French forts on the Upper Mississippi; and the principal authorities consulted have been MSS. in the Parliament Library of Canada, Charlevoix, La Harpe, La Potherie, New York Colonial Documentary History, and Shea's "Voyages up and down the Mississippi."

OCCURRENCES IN AND AROUND

FORT SNELLING,

From 1819 to 1840.

By E. D. NEILL.

For nearly fifty years Fort Snelling has been well known for the beauty and prominence of its situation, at the junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers.

Recently a portion of its outer wall has fallen, caused by excavations for the track of a railroad, and, under the advancing and resistless pressure of modern civilization, it may be, that within a generation, not one stone will be left on another. In anticipation of its disappearance, it is the object of this article to narrate some of the incidents connected with the Fort and the vicinity, previous to the organization of Minnesota.

After the cession of Louisiana to the United States, President Jefferson sent an exploring expedition under Lieut. Z. M. Pike to the Upper Mississippi. On the 23d of September, 1805, on the island which is called by his name, at the mouth of the Minnesota, Pike held a conference with the Sioux, and obtained a grant of lands for military purposes, nine miles square, at the mouth of the St. Croix, also from below the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi, and up the latter, to include the Falls of Saint Anthony, extending nine miles on each side of the river.

The war with Great Britian, and other causes, delayed

the establishment of a post on the Upper Mississippi for several years; but on the 10th of February, 1819, John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, issued an order for the 5th Regiment of Infantry to rendezvous at Detroit, preparatory to proceeding to the Mississippi to garrison or establish military posts, and the headquarters of the regiment was directed to be at the fort to be located at the mouth of the Minnesota, then St. Peter's river.

It was not until the 17th of September, that Lieut.-Col. Leavenworth, with a detachment of troops, reached this point, the keel-boats having been much delayed by the very low stage of water.

A cantonment was first established at New Hope, near Mendota, not far from the ferry. During the winter of 1819–20, forty of the soldiers died from scurvy. In the spring of 1820 J. B. Faribault came up from Prairie du Chien with Leavenworth's horses, and made his permanent home in Minnesota. Through his influence with the commanding officer, he obtained a *quasi* grant from the Indians of Pike's Island, but after an investigation of the circumstances, the government refused to confirm it.

On the 5th of May, Leavenworth crossed the Minnesota, and established a summer camp near the spring, above the military graveyard, which was called "Cold Water." The relations of Colonel Leavenworth with the Indian Agent at this time were not as harmonious as they might have been. The former was disposed to distribute medals and presents, and assumed duties that had not been delegated. Gov. Cass, returning from his tour to the Upper Mississippi, stopped at Camp Coldwater, and seems to have appreciated the Agent's position. The actions of the Colonel led to the following letter from Major Taliaferro:—

CAMP ST. PETERS, July 30, 1820.

DEAR SIR: As it is now understood that I am the Agent for Indian Affairs in this country, and you are about to leave the

Upper Mississippi, in all probability in the course of a month or two, I beg leave to suggest, for the sake of a general understanding with the Indian tribes in this country, that any medals you may possess would, by being turned over to me, cease to be a topic of remark among the different bands of Indians under my direction. I will pass to you any voucher that may be required, and I beg leave to observe also that my progress in influence is much impeded in consequence of their frequent intercourse with the garrison. The more they become familiarized to our strength in this country, the less apt they are to respect either the Agent or his Government. On reflection you will doubtless think me correct.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your friend and obedient servant,

LAWR. TALIAFERRO,

Indian Agent Upper Mississippi.

Col. H. LEAVENWORTH,
Commanding 5th Infantry, Camp Coldwater.

This disastrous effect of the unrestricted intercourse of Indians, with the soldiers of the garrison, was forcibly exhibited a few days subsequent to the date of this letter.

On the third of August, Mahgossau, a chief called by the whites "Old Bustard," accompanied by another Indian, visited Camp Coldwater, and was presented with "fire water." While on his return to the Agency, still kept at the first cantonment, his comrade stabbed him. The occurrence called forth the following note:—

INDIAN AGENCY, ST PETERS, August 5, 1820.

DEAR SIR: His Excellency Gov. Cass, during his visit to this Post, remarked to me that the Indians in this quarter were spoiled, and at the same time said that they should not be permitted to enter the Camp. I beg leave to suggest to you the propriety of his remark, by an observance of which my influence may be facilitated and the government respected. An unpleasant affair has lately taken place. I mean the stabbing of the old chief Mahgossau by his comrade. This was caused, doubtless, by an anxiety to obtain the chief's whiskey. I beg, therefore, that no whiskey whatever

be given to any Indian, unless it be through their proper Agent. While an overplus of whiskey thwarts the beneficent and humane policy of the Government, it entails misery upon the Indians, and endangers their lives as well as those of their own people.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
LAWR. TALIAFERRO, Indian Agent.

Col. H. LEAVENWORTH, Commanding 5th Infantry.

A few days after this correspondence, Colonel Josiah Snelling arrived, and relieved Leavenworth. His presence infused system and energy among men and officers. On the 10th of September the corner stone of Fort St. Anthony was laid. The barracks were at first log structures.

During the summer of 1820 a party of the Sisseton Sioux killed on the Missouri Isadore Poupon, a half-breed, and Joseph Andrews, a Canadian, two men in the employ of a fur company. As soon as the intelligence reached the Agent, Major Taliaferro, trade with the Sioux was interdicted until the guilty were surrendered. Finding that they were deprived of blankets, powder, and tobacco, a council was held at Big Stone Lake, and one of the murderers, and the aged father of another, agreed to go down and surrender themselves.

On the 12th of November, escorted by friends and relatives, they approached the post. Halting for a brief period, they formed and marched in solemn procession to the centre of the parade ground. In advance was a Sisseton, bearing a British flag; next came the murderer, and the old man who had offered himself as an atonement for his son, with their arms pinioned, and large wooden splinters thrust through the flesh above the elbow, indicating their contempt for pain; and in the rear followed friends chanting the death-song.

After burning the British flag in front of the sentinels of the Fort, they formally delivered the prisoners. The

murderer was sent under guard to St. Louis, and the old man detained as a hostage.

The first white women in Minnesota were the wives of army officers. Mrs. Snelling accompanied her husband, and a few days after her arrival at Mendota, a daughter was born, and after a brief existence of thirteen months, died and was buried in the graveyard of the fort. It was the first interment, and the stone which marks its remains can still be seen.

The wife of Captain Clark, the commissary of the post, arrived in 1820, with an infant, born at Fort Winnebago, Wisconsin, who still lives, a resident of Minnesota, and the honored wife of the quiet, efficient, and unassuming Major General Van Cleve.

Mrs. Gooding, the wife of Captain Gooding, remained at the post until 1821, when her husband resigned, and became the sutler of Prairie du Chien.

The year 1821 was occupied by the military in the construction of the fort, and by Major Taliaferro, the Agent, in dissipating the prejudices of the Indians, instilled by British traders.

On the 12th of September a party of Sissetons visited the Agent, and the spokesman said:—

"We are glad to find your door open to-day, my father. The Indians, you see, are like the wild dogs of the prairie. When they stop at night, they lie down in the open air, and rise with the sun and pursue their journey. I applied for the other murderer of the white men of the Missouri, but in bringing him down, the fear of being hung induced him to stab himself to death."

Early in August, a young and intelligent mixed blood, Alexis Bailly, left the fort for the Red River settlement, with a drove of thirty or forty cattle.

On the 1st of October, Major Taliaferro and some of the officers of the fort, and Mrs. Captain Gooding, rode up to

the Falls of Saint Anthony, to visit the government mill, being constructed under the supervision of Lieut. McCabe. Two weeks later, Col. Snelling, Lieut. Baxley, Mrs. Gooding, and Major Taliaferro went to Prairie du Chien in the keelboat "Saucy Jack."

Early in January, 1822, Alexis Bailly, Col. Robert Dickson, and Messrs. Laidlaw and Mackenzie arrived at the Prairie from Selkirk Settlement. While here, the Indian Agent learned that at a saw-mill on the Black River, built by Hardin Perkins, a foreign subject, named J. B. Mayraud, was trading without a license, and on the 2d of February, he sent Thomas McNair to seize his goods. The notorious Joseph Rolette, sen., attempted to frustrate the plan by sending Alexis Bailly to give warning. On the same day that McNair was sent to Black River, M. Dousman was authorized to take possession of the stores of Montreville, trading with the Indians above Lake Pepin.

From that time the old British traders did not leave a stone unturned to effect the removal of Major Taliaferro, as he could not be coaxed nor intimidated to wink at the plans for fleecing the ignorant Indians.

In the fall of 1822, Fort St. Anthony was sufficiently completed to admit of its occupancy by the troops.

In the spring of 1823, it was proved that it was practicable to navigate the Mississippi with steamboats as far as the Minnesota River. The Virginia, a steamer one hundred and eighteen feet in length and twenty-two in width, commanded by Captain Crawford, on the 10th of May made its appearance at the Fort, and was received with a salute. Among the passengers were Major Biddle, Lt. Russell, Taliaferro, the Indian Agent, and Beltrami, an Italian refugee and traveller, with letters of introduction to Col. Snelling and family. On the 3d of July, Major Long, of the Topographical Engineers, arrived at the Fort, at the head of an expedition to explore the Minnesota River, and

the region along the northern boundary line of the United States. Beltrami, at the instance of Col. Snelling, was permitted to be one of the exploring party, and Major Taliaferro kindly gave him a horse and equipments. The relations of the Italian to Long did not prove pleasant, and at Pembina, Beltrami separated from the party, and, with a "bois brule" and two Ojibways, proceeded and discovered the northern sources of the Mississippi, and suggested where the western sources would be found, which was verified by Schoolcraft nine years later. About the second week in September, Beltrami returned to the Fort by way of the Mississippi, escorted by forty or fifty Ojibways, and on the 25th departed for New Orleans, where he published his discoveries in the French language.

In the year 1824, the Fort was visited by General Scott, on a tour of inspection, and at his suggestion its name was changed from Fort St. Anthony to Fort Snelling.

The following is an extract from his report to the War Department:—

> This work, of which the War Department is in possession of a plan, reflects the highest credit on Col. Snelling, his officers and men. The defences, and for the most part the public storehouses, shops, and quarters being constructed of stone, the whole is likely to endure as long as the post shall remain a frontier one. The cost of erection to the government has only been the amount paid for tools and iron, and the per diem paid to soldiers employed as mechanics.
>
> I wish to suggest to the General-in-Chief, and through him to the War Department, the propriety of calling this work Fort Snelling, as a just compliment to the meritorious officer under whom it has been erected.
>
> The present name [Fort St. Anthony] is foreign to all our assotions, and is besides geographically incorrect, as the work stands at the junction of the Mississippi and St. Peter's rivers, eight miles below the great falls of the Mississippi, called after St. Anthony.

In 1824, Major Taliaferro proceeded to Washington, with a delegation of Chippeways and Dahkotahs headed by Little Crow, the grandfather of the chief of the same name, who was engaged in the late horrible massacre of defenceless women and children. The object of the visit was to secure a convocation of all the tribes of the Upper Mississippi at Prairie du Chien, to define their boundary lines and establish friendly relations. When they reached Praire du Chien, Wahnatah, a Yancton chief, and also Wapasha, by the whisperings of mean traders, became disaffected, and wished to turn back. Little Crow, perceiving this, stopped all hesitancy by the following speech:—

"My Friends: You can do as you please. I am no coward, nor can my ears be pulled about by evil counsels. We are here and should go on, and do some good for our nation. I have taken our Father here [Taliaferro] by the coat-tail, and will follow him until I take by the hand our great American Father."

While on board of a steamer on the Ohio river, Marcpee or the Cloud, in consequence of a bad dream, jumped from the stern of the boat, and was supposed to be drowned, but he swam ashore and made his way to St. Charles, Mo., there to be murdered by some Sacs. The remainder safely arrived in Washington, and accomplished the object of the visit. The Dahkotahs returned by the way of New York, and while there were anxious to pay a visit to certain parties with Wm. Dickson, a half-breed son of Col. Robert Dickson, the trader who led the Indians of the Northwest against the United States in the war of 1812.

After this visit, Little Crow carried a new double-barrelled gun, and said that a medicine man by the name of Peters gave it to him for signing a certain paper, and that he also promised he would send a keelboat full of goods to them. The medicine man referred to was the Rev. Samuel Peters, an Episcopal clergyman, who had made

himself obnoxious during the Revolution by his tory sentiments, and was subsequently nominated as Bishop of Vermont.*

Peters asserted that in 1806 he had purchased of the heirs of Jonathan Carver the right to a tract of land on the Upper Mississippi, embracing St. Paul, alleged to have been given to Carver by the Dahkotahs in 1767.

The next year there arrived in one of the keelboats from Prairie du Chien at Fort Snelling, a box marked for Col. Robert Dickson. On opening, it was found to contain a few presents from Mr. Peters to Dickson's Indian wife, a long letter, and a copy of Carver's alleged grant, written on parchment.

As early as April 5th, 1825, the steamboat Rufus Put-

* The Rt. Rev. Bishop Chase, Bishop of New Hampshire, in his notes on the History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Vermont, says: "The Rev. Samuel Peters, LL.D., familiarly known among our older churchmen under the name of 'Bishop Peters,' tells us [see his Life of Hugh Peters, p. 94], that he was the first clergyman who visited 'Verd Mont,' as he calls it. This was in October, 1768, when, with a number of gentlemen, he ascended to one of the Green Mountain peaks, and there, in sight of Lake Champlain on the west and of Connecticut River on the east, and stretching his view over interminable forests northward and southward, proclaimed the name of 'Verd Mont.' After this, as he relates, he passed through most of the settlements, preaching and baptizing for the space of eight weeks. The number baptized by him, at that early period, of adults and children, is set down at nearly twelve hundred—a number very remarkable, certainly, considering the sparseness of the population."

It is said to be on record that he was *nominated* for colonial Bishop of Vermont, by some one of the British colonial governors. Accordingly he went to England to procure consecration, but was rejected. After the close of the War of the Revolution he revived his claim to the bishopric of Vermont, and applied to the newly consecrated American Bishops; but from some cause he failed to make his claims respected, and so never became Bishop. He was an extreme tory, and spent most of his life in political intriguery. He died in New York, April 19, 1826, at the age of ninety years.—*Committee.*

nam, Captain Bates in command, reached the Fort. Four weeks after she made a second trip with goods for the Columbia Fur Company, and proceeded to Land's End, their trading post on the Minnesota River.

This year was also remarkable for the great convocation of tribes at Prairie du Chien, in the presence of Governors Cass and Clark, at which a definite boundary line between the Chippeways and Dahkotah country was agreed upon.

After the council was over, Mr. Taliaferro and delegation left in three Mackinaw boats, with eighteen voyageurs. Great sickness prevailed among the Indians. Before Lake Pepin was reached, a Sisseton chief died. At Little Crow's village, on the east side of the river, just below the present city of St. Paul, the sickness had so increased that it was necessary to leave one of the boats, and, after much tribulation, on the 30th of August, the remainder of the party reached Fort Snelling. The Agent appointed Mr. Laidlaw to conduct the Yanctons, Wahpetons, Wahkpacootays, and Sissetons to their homes, but on the way twelve died.

Among the sick Chippeways who died at the mouth of the Sauk River, about the same time, was the wife of Hole-in-the-Day, and the mother of the present chief of that name.

On the 30th of October, seven Indian women, in canoes, were drawn into the rapids above the Falls of St. Anthony. All were saved but a lame girl who was dashed over the Falls, whose body, a month afterwards, was found at Pike's Island, in front of the Fort.

Forty years ago, the means of communication between Fort Snelling and the civilized world were very limited. The mail in the winter was usually carried by soldiers to Prairie du Chien. On the 26th of January, 1826, there was great joy in the fort, caused by the return from furlough of Lieutenants Baxley and Russell, who brought with them the first mail received for *five* months. About

this period there was also another excitement caused by the seizure of liquors in the trading house of Alexis Bailly, at New Hope, now Mendota.

In February, the monotony of wilderness life was again broken by a duel between two officers of the garrison. On the 23d of this month the officers went down to Faribault's house, a short distance from Carver's Cave, to attend a grand medicine dance. During the month of March, a young son of Lieutenant Melancthon Smith died. Officers and men, preceded by a band of music playing the "Dead March," escorted the remains to their last resting place.

On the 8th of February, Colonel Snelling received the following letter from the Indian Agent:—

Dear Sir: Agreeably to your request, made a few days since, desiring information as to the most practicable and speedy route to the several trading posts on the Upper Mississippi, also the number of points at which locations have been made for carrying on trade with the Indians, and also any other information deemed pertinent to the subject, that might be in my possession:

I have at length, after a full examination of documents in my office, been enabled to state as follows: The number of locations made by me under the act of Congress of the 26th of May, 1824, on the waters of the Mississippi alone, amount to seven in number, viz., one at the mouth of Chippeway River, one at the Falls of St. Croix, one at Crow Island, one at Sandy Lake, one at Leaf Lake, one at Leech Lake, and one at Red Lake.

My letter to you of the 6th of January last, informs you of the purport of Mr. Prescott's report, and there is no doubt but that the goods and peltries of those Canadians near his house, are liable to and would be a lawful seizure, besides the forfeiture of their bonds, in the sum of $500 each, they entering the country to serve as boatswain or interpreter, as the case may be.

Mr. Baker reports one house to be in operation between Crow Island and Sandy Lake, where no location has been made by any Agent of the government. This trader, it appears, was licensed for Red Lake, and permitted to take with him twenty kegs of

liquor, but found it better suited his purpose to establish himself as before stated.

There may be some whiskey at Sandy Lake, but no large quantity nearer than the post of the American Fur Company, at the Fond-du-lac, on Lake Superior, which would be too far for troops to march at this advanced season of the winter. I am also informed that the buildings which were erected for the accommodation of our troops while getting timber for the public service last winter, are now occupied by common hands of the American Fur Company, and are no doubt unlawfully engaged in the Indian trade. Traders have no right to station their men at any point, other than at special posts, assigned in their licenses.

As it is not in my power to give a correct statement of the route from this point to the leading locations above on the Mississippi, I have, therefore, procured a faithful Indian as a guide to the first post, Crow Island, where every facility to the other posts will be afforded by Mr. B. F. Baker.

I am fully impressed with the belief that showing a detachment of troops occasionally in the Indian country, on the Upper Mississippi, will have the effect, in a short time, of putting an entire stop to this petty illicit trade, and the bartering of whiskey, which has been carried on for several years past. And it also makes strong impressions on the minds of the Indians. They see that the government can reach them and the traders also at pleasure.

In connection with this letter, we record the locations and names of all the posts within the Agency at that time:—

1. Fort Adams, Lac-qui-parle, house of Columbia Fur Company.
2. Fort Washington, Lac Traverse, " " " "
3. Fort Columbia, Upper Sand Hills, Cheyenne American "
4. Fort Biddle, Crow Island, " "
5. Fort Rush, mouth of Chippeway River, " "
6. Fort Union, Traverse des Sioux, Columbia " "
7. Fort Factory, near Fort Snelling, on the St. Peter's.
8. Fort Barbour, Falls of St. Croix, Columbia Fur Company.
9. Fort Calhoun, Leech Lake, American " "
10. Fort Bolivar, Leaf Lake, Columbia " "

11. Fort Pike, Red Lake, American Fur Company.
12. Fort Rice, Devil's Lake, " " "
13. Fort Greene, below Big Stone Lake, American Fur Company.
14. Fort Southard, Forks of Red Cedar River, American Fur Company.
15. Fort Lewis, Little Rapids (St. Peter's), American Fur Company.
16. Fort Confederation, second forks Des Moines River, Columbia Fur Company.
17. Fort Benton, Sandy Lake, American Fur Company.

During the months of February and March, in the year 1826, snow fell to the depth of two or three feet, and there was great suffering among the Indians. On one occasion thirty lodges of Sisseton and other Sioux were overtaken by a snow storm on a large prairie. The storm continued for three days, and provisions grew scarce, for the party were seventy in number. At last the stronger men, with a few pairs of snow-shoes in their possession, started for a trading post one hundred miles distant. They reached their destination half alive, and the traders sympathizing, sent four Canadians with supplies for those left behind. After great toil they reached the scene of distress and found many dead; and, what was more horrible, the living feeding on the corpses of their relatives. A mother had eaten her dead child, and a portion of her own father's arms. The shock to her nervous system was so great that she lost her reason. Her name was Tash-u-no-ta, and she was both young and good-looking. One day in September 1829, while at Fort Snelling, she asked Captain Jouett if he knew which was the best portion of a man to eat, at the same time taking him by the collar of his coat. He replied with great astonishment, "No," and she then said "the arms." She then asked for a piece of his servant to eat, as she was nice and fat. A few days after this, she

dashed herself from the bluffs near Fort Snelling, into the river. Her body was found just above the mouth of the Minnesota, and decently interred by the Agent.

The spring of 1826 was very backward. On the 20th of March snow fell to the depth of one or one and a half feet on a level, and drifted in heaps from six to fifteen feet in height. On the 5th of April, early in the day, there was a violent snow storm, and the ice was still thick in the river. During the storm, flashes of lightning were seen and thunder heard. On the 10th, the thermometer was four degrees above zero. On the 14th, there was a rain, and on the next day the St. Peter's river broke up, but the ice in the Mississippi remained firm. On the 21st, at noon, the ice began to move, and carried away Mr. Faribault's houses on the east side of the river. For several days the river was twenty feet above low-water mark, and all the houses on low lands were swept off. On the 2d of May the steamboat Lawrence, Capt. Reeder, arrived.

Major Taliaferro had inherited several slaves, that he used to hire to officers of the garrison. On the 31st of March, his negro boy William was employed by Col. Snelling, the latter agreeing to clothe him. About this time William attempted to shoot a hawk, but instead shot a small boy, named Henry McCullum, and nearly killed him. In May, Captain Plympton of the 5th Infantry wished to purchase his negro woman Eliza, but he refused, as it was his intention ultimately to free his slaves. Another of his negro girls, Harriet, was married at the Fort, the Major performing the ceremony, to the now historic Dred Scott, who was then a slave of Surgeon Emerson.

The only person that ever purchased a slave was Alexis Bailly, who bought a man from Major Garland. The Sioux at first had no prejudices against negroes. They called them "black Frenchmen," and placing their hands on their woolly heads would laugh heartily.

The following is a list of the steamboats that had arrived at Fort Snelling up to May 26, 1826:—

1. Virginia, May 10, 1823.
2. Neiville.
3. Putnam, April 2, 1825.
4. Mandan.
5. Indiana.
6. Lawrence, May 2, 1826.
7. Sciota.
8. Eclipse.
9. Josephine.
10. Fulton.
11. Red Rover.
12. Black Rover.
13. Warrior.
14. Enterprise.
15. Volant.

The subjoined was written by Colonel Snelling to Major Taliaferro, while the latter was on a visit to the Sioux of the Upper Minnesota:—

FORT SNELLING, August 26, 1826.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 24th was received last evening. I have directed Capt. Watkins to take twenty days rations; it will be better to have a surplus than a deficiency. Col. Croghan has been here, and departed very well satisfied. Mr. Marsh accompanied him, and left a letter for you, which I now send. It seems that Mr. Secretary Barbour took no other notice of your letter than to send it to Gov. Cass, and he gave it to Marsh, and "*so we go.*" I have no serious apprehensions for the safety of Fort Crawford, but the reports afloat were of such an imposing character that I thought it my duty to reinforce it. If it had fallen for want of aid, I should have lost my military reputation forever. I trust that you will agree with me that Capt. Wilcox was a good selection for the command. Wabasha is said to have agreed to join the confederacy, if the Sioux of the St. Peters would do it, and they have declined. We have no mail, nor news. Your affairs go on well under Mr. L., who is a general favorite. My family is about as usual. Joseph's wound is doing well. Madam desires to be sincerely and cordially remembered to you. Capt. Garland is here, with a very interesting family. Remember me to Lt. Jamieson.

Truly your friend,

J. SNELLING.

Major L. TALIAFERRO,
Indian Agent for the Sioux of the St. Peters.

During the fall of 1826 all the troops at Fort Crawford were brought up to Fort Snelling, rendering the garrison very full.

On the night of the 28th of May, 1827, while Flat Mouth, Chief of the Pillagers, and a detachment of the Sandy Lake Indians were quietly encamped in front of the Agency House, and under the guns of the Fort, nine Sioux attacked them, wounding eight of the party. The Sioux were immediately notified that as they had insulted the flag of the United States they must make ample satisfaction. On the next day they delivered nine of the assailants, and two of them were immediately shot. On the 31st, two more were delivered up, and met with a similar fate.

Among the wounded Chippeways was a little girl ten years old, who had been shot through the thighs. Surgeon McMahon made every effort to save her life, but without avail.

After the removal of the troops from Fort Crawford to Fort Snelling, the Winnebagoes became more and more insolent, and in the month of March, 1827, they attacked the camp of a half-breed at Painted Rock Creek, on the Iowa side of the river, above the prairie, and killed the whole family.

About the same time two keelboats, with provisions, on their way to Fort Snelling, had been ordered to land at Wapasha's village, by his band of Sioux, but the crew, by preserving a bold mien, were not molested.

On their return, while about 50 miles above Prairie du Chien, they were attacked by some Winnebagoes, maddened by liquor obtained from Joseph Rolette. Joseph Snelling, a son of the Colonel, who was a passenger on one of the boats, in a letter to his father, said that the front boat, which was a few miles in advance of the other, was attacked in the evening, and pierced with hundreds of bullets. The Indians then boarded the boat, and attempted

to run her ashore, but by the signal bravery of the crew they were driven off. The rear boat was also attacked, but after several rounds were fired, they desisted.

Murders were also committed near Prairie du Chien, and the panic-stricken settlers had taken refuge in Fort Crawford.

As soon as the intelligence was received, on the evening of July 9th, Col. Snelling started in keelboats with four companies to protect Fort Crawford, and on the 17th of August four more companies of 5th Infantry left under Major Fowle.

After an absence of six weeks, the soldiers returned to Fort Snelling without firing a gun at the enemy. General Atkinson quieted the Winnebagoes by the execution of their two prominent warriors, Red Bird and Wekaw, who surrendered.

During the fall of this year, the 5th Regiment of infantry was ordered to Jefferson Barracks, and after their arrival at that post, Colonel Snelling proceeded to Washington to settle some accounts, and, while in that city, was seized with inflammation of the brain and died.

On the 15th of February, 1828, Alexis Bailly, trader at New Hope, now Mendota, applied for the establishment of a new trading post for the Wahpaykootays, on the Cannon River.

During the winter of 1828, Duncan Grahame and Jean Brunet began to cut timber on the Chippeway River, as Perkins & Co. had done in 1823. This act being considered an infraction of the law, Duncan Campbell was sent to visit the parties. His instructions were in these words: —

INDIAN AGENCY, ST. PETERS,
February 13, 1828.

SIR: The enclosed letter you will, on reaching the Chippeway River, deliver to Mr. Duncan Grahame, who is reported to be engaged in trade on that river.

You will take every possible means to inform yourself of this

fact, and report the circumstances to this office. It is also desirable that you ascertain the number of persons engaged in procuring timber at the same place, and particularly at what distance below the Falls of the Chippeway. * * * * Mr. Quinn will accompany you on the present expedition, as it is unsafe, from the severity of the season, to proceed alone.

During the month of June, Samuel Gibson, a drover from Missouri, lost his way while driving cattle to Fort Snelling, and he abandoned them near Lac-qui-parle. The trader there, Mr. Renville, took charge of them, and sixty-four head were subsequently sold by the Indian Agent's order, for $750, and the money forwarded to the unfortunate drover.

The winter, spring, and summer of 1829 were exceedingly dry. For ten months the average monthly fall of rain and snow was one inch. Vegetation was more backward than it had been for ten years, and navigation during the summer was almost impossible.

On the evening of July 27th, Lieut. Reynolds arrived with a keelboat of supplies, but one-half of the load had to be left at Pine Bend, before the boat could pass the bar in that vicinity, and sixty days were occupied in coming from St. Louis. The arrival was most opportune, as the garrison were eating their last barrel of flour. This summer Hazen Mooers came down from Lake Traverse, with one hundred and twenty-six packs of furs, valued at twelve thousand dollars.

It was in this year that the first attempt, in the present century, was made to establish missions in Minnesota.

In a journal kept at the Fort, under the date of Monday, Aug. 31st, is this entry:—

"The Rev. Mr. Coe and Stephens reported to be on their way to this post—members of the Presbyterian church, looking out for suitable places to make missionary estab-

lishments for the Sioux and Chippeways, found schools, instruct in agriculture and the arts, etc."

On the 1st of September these clergymen arrived and became the guests of the Indian Agent, with whom they had frequent conversations on the propriety of forming a colony in the Chippeway country, and also at the Falls of St. Anthony, for the Sioux. The Agent explained what steps he had taken toward forming schools.

On Sunday, September 6th, Rev. Mr. Coe preached twice, and the next evening held a prayer meeting at the quarters of the commanding officer. He also preached on the next Sunday, and on Monday, the 14th, he and his companion, with a guide, started on horseback for the St. Croix River. Mr. Taliaferro had already commenced an agricultural establishment on Lake Calhoun, which he called Eatonville, and he was very glad to meet with any who had the welfare of the Indian in view, as the following letter shows:—

INDIAN AGENCY, ST. PETERS,
September 8th, 1829.

REV. SIR: It having been represented to me by the Rev. Alvan Coe, that it is very desirable on the part of the Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church to form an establishment at this post, and also within the heart of the Chippeway country bordering on the Upper Mississippi, for the purpose of agriculture, schools, and the development of the light and truths of the Christian religion to the unhappy aborigines of this vast wilderness.

As my views fully accord in every material point with those of Messrs. Coe and Stephens, I can, in truth, assure the Board through you, Sir, of my determination heartily to co-operate with them in any and every measure that may be calculated to ensure success in the highly interesting and important objects to which the attention of the society has been so happily directed.

I have recommended to the government to appoint a special sub-agent, to reside at Gull Lake, to superintend the general concerns of the most warlike and respectable portion of all the Chippeways

of the Mississippi and its tributary waters above Lake Pepin, thereby to lessen their visits to this Agency, it being desirable to prevent their coming in contact too often with their old enemies the Sioux.

Should the society form a missionary establishment on the waters of the St. Croix, some of which communicate with Rum River of the Mississippi, and a special agent or sub-agent, the influence of whom might be necessary to the more efficient operations of the missionary families there located, I have no doubt but that the government would be willing to appoint one for the special duty, if represented by the society, accompanied by explanatory views on the subject.

As to an establishment for the Sioux of this Agency, it would be in the power of the society to commence operations, without much expense, at the Falls of St. Anthony, where there is a good grist and saw mill, with suitable buildings, at present going to decay for the want of occupants. I would cheerfully turn over my at present infant colony of agriculturists, together with their implements and horses, etc., to such an establishment.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Respectfully your most obedient servant,

LAW. TALIAFERRO,

Indian Agent at St. Peters,

Upper Mississippi.

Rev. Joshua T. Russell, Secretary Board of Missions Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pa.

Early in September, Surgeon R. C. Wood left the fort on a visit to Prairie du Chien, and on the last of the month he returned in an open boat, with a youthful bride by his side, the eldest daughter of Col. Zachary Taylor. How wonderful are the changes of a generation! Col. Taylor lived to become the President of the United States. Dr. R. C. Wood, his son-in-law, is now the Asst. Surgeon General of the United States, while Jefferson Davis, another son-in-law, under the influence of ambition, has become President of the States in rebellion, and John Wood, a grandson of

Taylor, is the Commander of the Tallahassee, the noted rebel privateer.

In the year 1830, Col. Taylor was one of the Commissioners appointed to hold another treaty with the Indians at Prairie du Chien. For some reason the traders threw obstacles in the way, which called forth a letter from "Old Zach," with these words, "Take the American Fur Company in the aggregate, and they are the greatest scoundrels the world ever knew."

This year there were so many drunken and licentious Indians lounging around the Fort that the following order was issued by Capt. Gale, the officer in command:—

HEADQUARTERS, FORT SNELLING, June 17, 1830.

The Commanding Officer has within a few mornings past discovered Indian women leaving the garrison immediately after reveille. The practice of admitting Indians into the Fort to remain during the night is strictly prohibited. No officer will hereafter pass any Indian or Indians into the garrison without special permission from the Commanding Officer. It is made the duty of the officer of the day to see that this order is strictly enforced.

By order of

CAPT. GALE.

E. R. WILLIAMS, Lt. and Adj't.

The next day after this order was read Capt. Gale received the following letter from Major Taliaferro:—

AGENCY HOUSE, ST. PETERS, June 18th, 1830.

SIR: Since my request to you of yesterday to co-operate with me in endeavoring to counteract the views of the traders near this post, by excluding all Indians from the Fort, I have become more fully acquainted with other facts of a nature calculated to ensure their success in preventing the Indians from attending the contemplated treaty at Prairie du Chien this summer.

Penition's band yesterday received by the hands of one of his

nephews a keg of whiskey, and this same band has been kept through the instrumentality of the traders in a state of continual drunkenness for some time past.

No man can be made better acquainted with these facts than myself. I shall place Mr. Farribault's bond in suit, as also Mr. Culbertson's, the moment it becomes fairly developed as to the course which has been pursued by them respectively. I have sent confidential persons to all the villages to see how the Indians get their whiskey and from whom, and what number are found drunk in each.

I have again to request that no Indians be permitted to enter the Fort for purposes of trade, as they have done for some time past, for they become insolent, lazy, and begin to attempt to take a stand independent of me; consequently nothing short of their entire exclusion from the Fort will effectually correct the evil now complained of.

Mr. Campbell has just returned from his expedition to the several bands of Sioux. On his passage through their country they, upon learning my message, were willing to attend the treaty, but on his return all that he saw refused to accompany him to this place, on the ground that an Indian messenger had passed just after him stating that the Sioux ought not to go down to the Prairie, for if they did they would be turned over to the Sacs and Foxes by the white people. This report naturally caused the whole of the band to disperse—their chiefs setting the example. Again, others state that as they can get plenty of whiskey from their traders and a little tobacco, that they had no occasion to go anywhere, and would not go—so that in the brief space of nine months my influence with most of the bands has been greatly impaired, in consequence of the quantities of whiskey which have been given them by the traders. Consequently the humane policy of the Government in regard to these deluded people has thus unhappily been interfered with, and this too at a time when it was all important for them to have accepted of its munificence and mediation.

The disappointment and embarrassment which will be caused the Commissioners by the refusal of the Sioux to attend may be more

easily imagined than described, as the treaty cannot well go on without them, they being mainly concerned.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

your most ob't serv't,

LAW. TALIAFERRO,

Indian Agent at St. Peters.

Capt. J. H. GALE, 1st Infantry, Comd'g Fort Snelling.

Notwithstanding the impediments thrown in the way, some of the Sioux attended the congress of tribes, and the M'dewakantonwans, in a treaty made at that time, bestowed on their half-breed relatives the country about Lake Pepin known as the "half-breed tract."

After the agent and delegation of Sioux went to Prairie du Chien, a nephew of Little Crow, with fifteen or twenty of the Kaposia band, went to the St. Croix and killed Cadotte, a half-breed, and three or four Chippeways.

Before daylight, on the morning of August 14th, 1830, a sentinel discovered the Indian council house on fire, and gave the alarm, but it was soon entirely consumed. The afternoon before, some drunken Indians came over from Mr. Bailly's trading house, and used abusive language.

On the 11th of September, Mrs. Faribault's brother, an Indian, came to the Agent, and voluntarily informed him that his uncle, who married Wapasha's daughter, was the person who burned the council house.

This year the agricultural colony of Sioux at Lake Calhoun, named Eatonville, was under the superintendence of Philander Prescott, who was murdered by the Sioux in the massacre of 1862.

During the year 1831, there was another arrival of emigrants from Selkirk's settlement. On the 25th of July, twenty of those unfortunate colonists came to the Fort, having been informed that the United States would give them farming implements and land near the post.

Joseph R. Brown this year had a trading house at Land's End, a mile above the Fort, on the Minnesota.

About the last of July, forty Sauks passed into the Sioux country, between the head waters of the Cannon and Blue Earth Rivers, where they met and killed several Sioux, at a place called Cintagah, or Grey Tail, not far from where the Sauks and Sissetons had fought in 1822 and 1823.

During this summer, Captain W. R. Jouett was in command of Fort Snelling.

On the 17th of August, Rocque and his son arrived at the Fort, twenty-six days in coming from Prairie du Chien. Rendered obtuse by whiskey, or some other cause, they crossed the Mississippi at Hastings, and ascended the St. Croix, and were fifteen days lost. Meeting some Chippeways at last, they were turned back and shown the right course.

On the 18th of September, Messrs. Dallam, Brisbois, and Joseph R. Brown arrived, having come through from Prairie du Chien by land, an unusual thing at that time.

Although Illinois and Wisconsin settlers were much alarmed in 1832 by the Black Hawk war, there was comparative quiet in the vicinity of Fort Snelling. A few of Wapasha's band united with the whites, and assisted in capturing the fugitives after the battle of Bad Axe.

The first steamboat that arrived at Fort Snelling this year was the Versailles, on May 12, and she was succeeded by the Enterprise, on June 27.

Eatonville colony, on Lake Calhoun, which commenced with twelve Indians, had increased to one hundred and twenty-five, and a good deal of corn was planted.

During the summer, the Sioux found the corpse of a white man near the second fork of the Des Moines River. He was tall, light-haired, dressed in a blue coat, black silk vest, and grayish pantaloons. The Indians took his watch, and about twenty dollars in silver, to Alexander Faribault.

On the 16th of June, Wm. Carr and three drovers arrived at the Fort from Missouri, with eighty head of cattle, and six horses for the use of the troops.

At the urgent solicitation of Mr. Aitkin, the trader, in this year Mr. Ayer, now of Belle Prairie, went to Sandy Lake and opened a mission school for Chippeway children. In 1833 the Rev. W. T. Boutwell, who now resides near Stillwater, established a mission station at Leech Lake.

In the year 1834, Samuel W. and Gideon H. Pond arrived, and offered their services for the benefit of the Sioux, and were sent out to the Agent's agricultural colony on Lake Calhoun. This year also, Henry H. Sibley took charge of trading post at Mendota.

During the month of May, 1835, the Rev. Mr. Williamson, M. D., arrived at Fort Snelling, with his family and assistants, to establish a Sioux mission, and, on the second Sabbath in June, a Presbyterian church was organized in one of the company rooms of the Fort, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered to twenty-two persons, and Captain, now Colonel, Gustavus Loomis, of the army, was elected one of the session of the church.

In the year 1835, Major J. L. Bean commenced the survey of the Sioux and Chippeway boundary line, under the treaty of 1825. A military escort, under Lt. Wm. Storer, accompanied him, and he proceeded as far as Otter Tail Lake, but the Indians were very troublesome, and constantly pulled up the stakes.

Alexis Bailly, having been found guilty of furnishing Indians with whiskey, was forced to leave the post in June, with his family, and Mr. Sibley became his successor at Mendota.

On the 23d of June, Dr. Williamson and family, and Alexander G. Huggins, mission farmer, left the Fort for Lac-qui-parle, in company with Joseph Renville, Sr.

The next day a long-expected steamboat, the Warrior,

arrived with supplies and a pleasure party. Among the passengers were Captain Day and Lieut. Beech, of the army, Catlin, the artist, and wife, General G. W. Jones, J. Farnsworth, Mrs. Felix St. Vrain, Misses Farnsworth, Crow, Johnson, and others.

On the 3d of July, Major Taliaferro, as justice of the peace, united in marriage Hippolite Provost and Margaret Brunell.

Colonel Kearney, with a detachment of 200 dragoons, passed through the southern part of Minnesota during this month.

On the 16th, the Warrior again arrived at the Fort, and among the passengers were Gen. Robert Patterson, sister and daughter, from Philadelphia. On the 27th, Catlin, the painter, left in a bark canoe, with one soldier, for Prairie du Chien. On the last day of July, a train of Red River emigrants arrived, with some fifty or sixty head of cattle, and twenty or twenty-five horses. Lieut. Ogden, Rev. Mr. Stevens, of Lake Harriet, and Mr. Sibley, purchased some of the horses. Including this party, since 1821, four hundred and eighty-nine persons from Selkirk Colony had arrived at the Fort, while a few, Abraham Perry and others, became farmers in the vicinity. The majority went down to Galena, Vevay, and other points in Illinois and Indiana.

On the 29th of July the Indian Agent married Sophia Perry to a Mr. Godfrey.

Michael Kilcole, an Irishman, and Joseph Vespuli, on their way from Red River, had their three yoke of oxen stolen by the Little Rapids Indians. As they had large families, Major Taliaferro circulated a subscription paper in their behalf, and obtained the following names and sums:—

Major Bliss, $5; Law. Taliaferro, $3; Major Loomis, $3; Capt. Day, $2; B. F. Baker, $2; N. W. Kittson, $1; Lieut. Ogden, $2.

If the Indians had not been made drunk by the whiskey of unprincipled traders, the robbery would not have been committed.

On the 12th of September, the geologist, Featherstonhaugh, arrived. His actions were those of a conceited, ill-bred Englishman, and the book he afterwards published in London, called "A Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor," proved that he was destitute of the instincts of a refined gentleman.

On the 26th of November, Col. Stambaugh, the new sutler for the post, arrived.

The following conversation took place at the headquarters of Major Bliss, on December 7th:—

Major Bliss said, "It was his opinion that a treaty was in contemplation with the Sioux for a cession of land, a large body east of the Mississippi, governed by the boundary line between the tribes."

To which the Indian Agent replied:—

"I feel confident there is and has been such a plan in contemplation, although never officially made known to me, but the main object of such a purchase would be to place the Winnebagoes on the west and not east of the Mississippi. Therefore if a treaty be in contemplation at all, it will have for its object the purchase of all the Sioux country, from the cession of 1830, to strike a point from the Red Cedar on to the head waters of the Terre Bleu River, thence to the waters of the River des Canons, and following said river to its mouth; thence with the Mississippi River to the line of cession of 1830; or it may be varied so as to touch the River des Moines, Terre Bleu and Cannon Rivers."

Major Bliss added: "I hear many letters have been written for the purpose of effecting the object we speak of, and I shall not be surprised to see a commissioner arrive here next spring."

The Agent replied to this: "I do not know but such a treaty might take place. It is desirable, on the part of the traders of the American Fur Company, that a treaty should be had with the Sioux. The treaty of 1830 first indicated a disposition to cause the United States to pay them for lost credits. I then defeated their object, for I view the allowance of all such claims as a fraud committed upon the Treasury, although legalized by a treaty. The company are much opposed to me on this ground and fear me, and would be glad to have me out of the country. I know too much, and they are fully aware of my independence. I am determined at some future day, Major, to address the President. He abhors iniquity and deception, and he will protect me."

In the month of February, 1836, Fanny, daughter of Abraham Perry, who had emigrated from Selkirk Settlement, was married to Charles Mousseau, being the fifth couple that had been united in marriage by Mr. Taliaferro.

The winter of 1836 proved very severe to cattle. J. B. Faribault lost twenty head, Joseph R. Brown seven, H. H. Sibley seven, L. Taliaferro three, and Joseph Perry ten.

The first steamboat that arrived in 1836 was the Missouri Fulton, on the 8th of May. Major Bliss left in this boat, and Col. Davenport succeeded as commanding officer of the Fort.

On the 29th of May, the steamboat Frontier, Captain Harris, was at the Fort, the second arrival of the season.

On June 1, the Palmyra came, with some thirty ladies and gentlemen passengers. On the 2d of July the St. Peters came up and landed supplies. Among the passengers was Mr. Nicollet, the French astronomer, and several ladies from St. Louis, on a pleasure tour. Mr. Nicollet, who had come for scientific purposes, was kindly furnished with a room in Mr. Taliaferro's house, and a friendship was formed that lasted until the death of the former. The

Indian Agent has the following entry in his Journal, under date of July 12:—

"Mr. Nicollet, on a visit to the post for scientific research, and at present in my family, has shown me the late work of Henry R. Schoolcraft, on the discovery of the source of the Mississippi, which claim is ridiculous in the extreme."

On the 17th, Duncan Campbell, Sr., arrived from the foot of Lake Pepin, and reported that all but twenty-seven of Wapasha's band had died from smallpox.

On the 27th, Nicollet left the Agency for the sources of the Mississippi. Just before his departure he gave Mr. Taliaferro an original letter of Washington to Elias Boudinot, dated August 24, 1795, and giving reasons for not attending the funeral of Mr. Bradford.

On the 30th of July, a party of mounted Sac and Fox Indians killed twenty-four Winnebagoes on Root River. They were descending the stream on their way to La Crosse, and were completely surprised.

On the 12th of September, at the house of Oliver Cratte, near the Fort, James Wells, subsequently a member of the Minnesota Legislature, was united in marriage to Jane Graham, a daughter of Duncan Graham. The ceremony was performed by Major Taliaferro.

On the 28th, Nicollet arrived from the Upper Mississippi.

On October 6, Inspector General Croghan, U. S. A., came to the Fort on an official visit, and the next night the Thespian Company played in his presence "Monsieur Tonson," and "the Village Lawyer."

On the 9th, a small steamboat came up with stores for the Government.

The following table will give some idea of the profits of the Indian trader in the year 1836:—

St. Louis prices.		Minnesota prices.			Net gain.
Three pt. Blanket...	$3 25	60 Rat Skins at 20 cents,		$12 00	$8 75
1½ yd. Shroud	2 37	60	" "	12 00	9 63
1 N. W. Gun.....	6 50	100	" "	20 00	13 50
1 lb. Lead	6	2	" "	40	34
1 lb. Powder	28	10	" "	2 00	1 72
1 Tin Kettle	2 50	60	" "	12 00	9 50
1 Knife	20	4	" "	80	60
1 lb. Tobacco.....	12	8	" "	1 60	1 40
1 Looking Glass.....	4	4	" "	80	76
1½ yd. Scarlet Cloth..	3 00	60	" "	12 00	9 00

In the month of November a Mr. Pitt went with a boat and a party of men to the Falls of St. Croix to cut pine timber. The Chippeways gave the consent, but the agreement was not sanctioned by the United States authorities.

On Tuesday, the 29th of November, at the quarters of Capt. T. Barker, U. S. A., Alpheus R. French, of New York, was married to Mary Ann Henry, of Ohio.

On the 30th of December, there was an examination of the Mission School at Lake Harriet. Henry H. Sibley and Major Taliaferro were appointed examiners. Among others in attendance were Major Loomis, Lt. Ogden, and their families, and Surgeon Emerson.

In 1837 the Agent at Fort Snelling was instructed to organize a reliable delegation of Indians, to proceed to Washington, under orders from Gen. Henry Dodge, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for the purpose of talking over the propriety of selling the lands owned by the Sioux east of the Mississippi. Miles Vineyard, sub-agent, was also dispatched to invite the Chippeways to a council near Fort Snelling, with the Commissioners, Gen. Wm. R. Smith, of Pa., and Gen. Dodge, of Illinois. In a little while 1200 Chippeways were at the Fort, to meet Gen. Dodge. A treaty was concluded, but not without some stirring incidents. Two prominent traders entered the Agency office in apparent haste, and asked for pens and paper. Some

one returned and handed to Mr. Van Antwerp, Secretary of the Commissioner, a claim for the mills on the Chippeway River. The amount asked was $5000. The Indians were surprised at the palpable fraud. One chief, for the sake of peace, was willing to allow $500 for that which had been of no benefit to them, but old Hole-in-the-Day and others objected even to this.

Soon after yelling was heard in the direction of Baker's trading post at Cold Spring, and it was learned that Warren, the father of Wm. W. Warren, the Anglojibway that died at St. Paul several years ago, was marching down with some howling red devils to force the Commissioner to allow Warren $20,000. As they rushed into the treaty-arbor, Mr. Taliaferro pointed a pistol at Warren, and Hole-in-the-Day said, "Shoot, my father." Gen. Dodge begged him to stop, and the affair ended by the insertion of $20,000 in the treaty as Warren wished.

The treaty with the Chippeways being concluded, Gen. Dodge directed the Agent to select a delegation of Sioux and proceed to Washington.

The traders attempted to prevent the departure of the Sioux until they made a promise that they would provide for their indebtedness to the traders. The Agent, keeping his own counsel, engaged a steamboat to be at the landing on a certain day. Capt. Lafferty was prompt, and to the astonishment of the traders, the Agent, interpreters, and a part of the delegation were quickly on board, and gliding down the river. Stopping at Kaposia, they received Big Thunder and his pipe bearer; at Red Wing, Wahkoota and his war chief came aboard; and at Winona, Wapasha and Etuzepah were added, making in all a delegation of twenty-six.

Without accident they reached Washington, and a synopsis of a treaty that might be agreeable to the Indians was presented to Secretary Poinsett.

The Fur Company was there, represented by H. H. Sibley, Alexis Bailly, Laframboise, Rocque, Labathe, Alexander and Oliver Faribault; and on the 29th of September, 1837, a treaty was signed, by which the pine forests of the valley of the St. Croix and tributaries were rendered accessible to the white man, and thus a foundation laid for the organization of the future Territory of Minnesota.

The delegation returned by way of St. Louis, and the steamer Rolla was chartered to carry them back to Fort Snelling. On the trip one of the boilers collapsed, but fortunately no one was scalded, and on the 10th of November the party was landed in safety at the Fort.

On the 25th of May, 1838, the steamboat Burlington arrived with public stores. Among the passengers were J. N. Nicollet, J. C. Fremont and others, on an exploring expedition.

On June 9th, a delegation of Sioux from Kaposia came up to the Agency and complained that two men, Peter Parrant and old man Perry, had located on their lands east of the Mississippi, and wished them ordered away until the treaty was ratified. They also stated that Parrant (known to early settlers as Pigs' Eye) had located below the cave and sold whiskey.

On the 10th, Rev. Mr. Riggs of Lac-qui-parle preached to the troops at the Fort.

On the evening of the 13th, the steamboat Burlington, Captain Throckmorton, again arrived with a large number of passengers. Among others Capt. Maryatt, of the British Navy, and the popular novelist. Also, Gen. Atkinson and Lieut. Alexander, A. D. C., on a tour of inspection; Dr. and Mrs. Elwees, U. S. A., Benj. F. Baker, Franklin Steele, Miss Sibley, Miss E. B. Hooe, of Va., etc. The next day the whole party rode out to the Falls of St. Anthony.

On the 15th, the steamboat Brazil, Capt. Smith, was at the landing, and the then novel sight was presented of *two*

steamboats at the Fort at the *same time*. The family of Gov. Dodge came up on the latter.

On the 20th, the steamboat Ariel arrived from St. Louis, and a Mr. Beebe, one of the passengers, said that the Senate had ratified the treaty.

On the 28th, the Burlington completed its third trip this season, and brought up 146 recruits for the 5th Infantry.

On the evening of 9th of July, there was a violent storm, and as John B. Raymond, an old man sixty-five years of age, was looking out from the door of Peter Quinn, near Cold Water, he was instantly killed by lightning. He was buried in the graveyard of the Fort the next day.

The 15th of July was an eventful day at the Fort, caused by the arrival of the Palmyra with an official notice of the ratification of the treaty.

On board of the boat were some of the now old settlers of Minnesota, who pitched their tents at Marine Mills and the Falls of St. Croix. Officers of the Fort and others also now made claims at Prescott and Falls of St. Anthony.

On the 28th, Captain Boone, with fifty or sixty dragoons, arrived from Fort Leavenworth, having been forty-five days in making the journey, and in surveying the route for a road from post to post. Capt. Canfield, of the Topographical Engineers, and Lieut. Tilghman, were also members of the Commission.

On the 2d of August, Hole-in-the-Day, who had killed thirteen of the Lac-qui-parle Sioux, came to the Fort, with a few Chippeways, much to the regret of the officer in command, Major Plympton. The next evening Mr. Samuel W. Pond met the Agent at Lake Harriet, and told him that a number of armed Sioux, from Mud Lake, had gone to Baker's trading house, to attack the Chippeways. The Agent immediately hastened toward the spot, and reached the house just as the first gun was fired. An Ottawa Indian, of Hole-in-the-Day's party, was killed, and one

wounded. Of the Sioux, Tokali's son was shot by Obequette, of Red Lake, just as he was scalping his victim. The Chippeways were, as soon as possible, removed to the Fort, and at nine o'clock at night one Sioux was confined in the guard-house as a hostage.

The next day Major Plympton and the Indian Agent determined to hold a council with the Sioux. The principal men of the neighboring villages soon assembled. Several long speeches, as usual, were made, when Major Plympton said:—

"It is unnecessary to talk much. I have demanded the guilty—they must be brought."

They replied they would. The Council broke up, and at 5½ P. M. the party returned to the Agency, with Tokali's two sons. With much ceremony they were delivered. The mother, in surrendering them, said: "Of seven sons three only are left; one of them was wounded, and soon would die, and if the two now given up were shot, her all was gone. I called on the head men to follow me to the Fort. I started with the prisoners, singing their death-song, and have delivered them at the gate of the Fort. Have mercy on them for their youth and folly."

Notwithstanding the murdered Chippeway had been buried in the graveyard of the Fort for safety, an attempt was made on the night of the council, on the part of some of the Sioux, to dig it up.

On the evening of the 6th, Major Plympton sent the Chippeways across the river to the east side, and ordered them to go home as soon as possible.

Major Plympton told the Sioux that the insult to the flag must be noticed, and if they would punish the prisoners he would release them.

The council reassembled on the 8th, and Marcpuah Mahzali, Chief of Lake Pepin band, said, "If you will bring out the prisoners, I will carry your views fully into effect."

Lieut. Whitehorne, officer of the day, was accordingly sent to bring the prisoners, and soon returned with them. The Chief then said:—

"We will not disgrace the house of my father. Let them be taken outside the enclosure." As soon as this was done his braves were called, and, amid the crying of the women, the prisoners were disgraced; their blankets were cut in small pieces, then their leggings and breech-cloths; after this their hair was cut off, and, finally, they were whipped with long sticks, a most humiliating infliction for a warrior to endure.

The affair being satisfactorily settled, the Indians quietly dispersed.

On the 16th of August, Franklin Steele, Mr. Livingston, and others, came around from the Falls of St. Croix in a barge. Jean N. Nicollet, with his assistants, Fremont and Geyer, returned to the post on the 25th, from explorations of the plains towards the Missouri.

Commissioners Pease and Ewing arrive in the steamboat Ariel, on the 27th, and sit as a board to examine half-breed claims and determine on alleged debts due the traders. Returning to St. Louis, the Ariel came back again on September 29th, with Indian goods, and $110,000 for the half-breed Sioux, and then made a trip up the St. Croix River.

Nicollet came back to the Fort from a second expedition this season, on the 17th of October.

Mrs. Perry came to the Agency on the 18th, and complained that the day before, some of Wapasha's band, at her house, just below the stone cave, now in the suburb of the city of St. Paul, attacked and killed three of her cattle. They did not like to see persons settle and prosper on lands that they had so recently ceded.

The Perry family were Swiss, who came down from Selkirk Settlement. The old man first settled near the Fort and became a great cattle raiser. As they constantly

broke into the government gardens he was ordered away, but permitted to locate on the east side of the river. The ladies of the Fort did not wish him too far distant, as Mrs. Perry had distinguished herself in the region round about as an expert "*accoucheur.*" One of her daughters married James R. Clewett, and another was married to a man named Crevier.

The steamer Gipsy came up to the Fort on the 21st with Chippeway goods. For the sum of $450 it was then chartered to carry these goods to the Falls of St. Croix.

In passing up the lake, the boat grounded near the new town site, called Stambaughville, after the predecessor of Franklin Steele in the sutlership of Fort Snelling. On the afternoon of the 26th, the Falls were reached, and goods landed.

The increased arrival of steamboats in 1839, indicated that the country was in a transition state.

The first boat of the season was the Ariel, Captain Lyon, that reached the fort as early as April 14th. Twenty barrels of whiskey were brought in her for Joseph R. Brown, who had lived at Grey Cloud Island.

On May 2d the Gipsy, Captain Grey, came up, bringing a chaplain for the Fort, the Rev. E. G. Gear, who continued there until the post was disbanded.

The steamboat Fayette followed on the 11th, and after landing sutler's stores, proceeded with several persons of intelligence and character, connected with lumber companies, for the Falls of St. Croix.

On the 21st, the Glaucus, Captain Atchison, made its appearance. On its way it left six barrels of whiskey for D. Faribault, about the site of the city of St. Paul. The soldiers managed to obtain some and become mutinous, and many were put in the guard-house.

Years before this Mr. Faribault, sen., on one 22d of

February, is said to have received from Sergeant Mann $80 for a gallon of whiskey.

The Pennsylvania, Capt. Stone, arrived from Pittsburgh on June 1st, and among her passengers were Inspector General Wool and Major Hitchcock, both of whom have been in the service in crushing the present rebellion, with the rank of Major General.

The Glaucus made her second trip from St. Louis on the 5th of June.

The next day came the Ariel, bringing provisions for the Sioux.

On the 3d of June a party of soldiers went to Joseph R. Brown's groggery on the east side of the river, and as a consequence no less than forty-seven were confined in the guard-house that night for drunkenness.

On the afternoon of the 12th, Rev. Mr. Gavin, the Swiss missionary among the Sioux, was married to Miss C. Stevens, teacher of the Lake Harriet Mission School.

Hole-in-the-Day, father of the present chief of that name, arrived at the Fort with five hundred of his tribe on the 20th, and on the next day seven hundred and fifty more Chippeways came. At the same time there were eight hundred and seventy Sioux at the Agency. The steamboat Knickerbocker landed on the 25th and discharged goods for B. F. Baker, Sutler at the Post, and was followed on the next day by the Ariel, with stores for the Fur Company. Mr. Sinclair, of Selkirk settlement, with a train of forty or fifty carts, containing emigrants from the Red River of the North, encamped near the Fort on the 27th of June.

On board of the Ariel came a passenger by the name of Libley, who, in defiance of law, sold a barrel of whiskey to S. Campbell, U. S. Interpreter, and another to A. Leclerc. The result was that both Sioux and Chippeways were drunk the next night.

Bishop Loras of Iowa came up from Dubuque, and made

application to build a small Roman Catholic chapel near the Fort about this period.

On July 1st, the Swiss and Chippeways, at the Falls of St. Anthony, smoked the pipe of peace, and the latter proceeded homeward.

Some of the Pillager band of Chippeways remained behind, and passing over to Lake Harriet secreted themselves until after sunrise on July 2d, when they surprised Meekaw or Badger, a good Sioux Indian, on his way to hunt, and killed and scalped him. The Rev. J. D. Stevens of Lake Harriet brought the news to the Fort. The excitement was intense among the Sioux, and immediately one hundred and fifty warriors hurried after the Chippeways that had gone up the Mississippi, and another party soon followed after a second band of Chippeways, who with Mr. Aitkin had left the Fort the morning before to go to La Pointe by way of the St. Croix River.

On the 3d an action took place in the ravine near Stillwater, and also near Rum River portage. The losses of the Chippeways at the first place were twenty-one killed and twenty-nine wounded, and about ninety killed and wounded on Rum River.

The Rev. Thos. W. Pope, Methodist missionary, at Kaposia, left on the 16th, and was succeeded by the Rev. Jno. Holton.

Major Taliaferro now sent in his resignation as Indian Agent, to take effect at the close of the year.

The steamboat Ariel came up to the Fort on the 17th, and was followed by the Malta on the 22d, with the annuity goods for the Sioux. Among the passengers were Lt. Sibley, since Gen. Sibley of the rebel army, Lt. Marcy, now Inspector General U. S. A., with their families, Gen. Hunt and family, Mr. McCall of Philadelphia, and other gentlemen. The evening of the day of the arrival of the

Malta, at the quarters of Capt. A. S. Hooe, Mr. Bainbridge was married to Miss Hooe of Virginia.

On the 24th, the Malta went round to Lake St. Croix, for the passengers to visit the late battle ground in the ravine, where the Minnesota Penitentiary is now situated.

During the month of August the water in the river was so low that Louis Martin, the farmer for Grey Iron's band, drove his team down the bed of the river from the Fort to the trading post at Mendota.

Notwithstanding the low stage of water the light draught steamer Ariel reached the landing on the 15th of August.

A few days after this an order was received by Major Plympton defining the limits of the military reservation around Fort Snelling.

On the 8th of September some Sioux crossed over to the east side of the Mississippi and destroyed the groggery on the military reservation owned by Jos. R. Brown, Henry Mencke, a foreigner, and Anderson, a quarter breed Sioux.

The steamer Pike arrived on the 9th with ninety recruits, and again on the 17th with ninety-five more.

About the middle of September, an Irishman by the name of Hays was reported missing. He boarded with Phelan, in a log cabin near the junction of the present Hill and Eagle streets, in St. Paul, which was the second edifice erected on the site of the future capital of Minnesota.

As Hays had some money, and his absence was not satisfactorily accounted for by his partner Phelan, suspicion settled on the latter.

On the 22d of September Nicollet and Lt. J. C. Fremont arrived from Devil's Lake.

Some Indians came to the Agency on the 27th, and said that Hays, supposed to be lost, was dead and in the river near Carver's cave. The following note was received by the commanding officer of the Fort relative to the body:—

AGENCY HOUSE, ST. PETERS, Sept. 27, 1839.

MAJOR: I have sent the bearer, a good Indian, to go with the gentlemen who are in quest of the identity of Mr. Hays' body, now in the water near Carver's old cave. The Indian will conduct them to the spot, being so directed by his Chief, if requested so to do.

Very respectfully, your most ob't serv't,
LAW. TALIAFERRO, Indian Agent.

Major J. PLYMPTON, U. S. A. Comd'g Fort Snelling.

On examination of the body, his head, jaws, and nose were found fractured, indicating a violent death. The next day Phelan was brought before Henry H. Sibley, Justice of the Peace at Mendota, and examined as to his knowledge of the cause of the death of John Hays. He was confined in Crawford county prison for some time, but as there were no witnesses against him he was at last discharged, and coming back made a claim on the lake east of St. Paul, which to this day is called by his name.

On the 5th of October Henry C. Mencke, one of the whiskey sellers that prowled around on the east side of the river, having obtained an illegal appointment as special deputy sheriff for Clayton County, Iowa, went and arrested Major Taliaferro while sick, at the instance of one Clewett, on the false charge of aiding in destroying a whiskey cabin.

When the knowledge of this outrage reached the commanding officer, a detachment was sent over to Henry C. Mencke, who was an unnaturalized citizen as well as an intruder on the military reserve, and he was ordered to leave the country forthwith. The barefaced scamp, in arresting the Agent, surprised him in his morning dress, threw him on the floor, placed his knee on his stomach, and then presented a pistol to the Agent's ear.

On the 8th of October, the steamer Des Moines appeared with Indian goods.

The impudent conduct of the whiskey sellers between the Fort and the site of the present city of St. Paul, was made known to the War Department, but that very month Mr. Poinsett, then Secretary of Wisconsin, directed the U. S. Marshal of Wisconsin to remove all intruders on the land recently reserved for military purposes opposite to the post, on the east side of the river; and should they delay beyond a reasonable time, he was authorized to call upon the commander of the post for aid. All winter was given to the squatters to prepare, and the next spring there being a disposition to further procrastinate, on the 6th of May, 1840, the troops were called out, and the cabins destroyed to prevent re-occupation.

The squatters then retreated to the nearest point below the military reserve, and there they became the inglorious founders of a hamlet, which was shortly graced with the small Roman Catholic chapel of Saint Paul, the name of which is retained by the thrifty capital of Minnesota, which has emerged from the groggeries of "certain lewd fellows of the baser sort."

We could continue these reminiscences to the year of the organization of Minnesota, but there are many still living who are better acquainted with recent events than the writer, and he prefers to leave the task to some other pen.

HISTORY OF THE DAKOTAS.

JAMES W. LYND'S MANUSCRIPTS.

It is known by many persons in Minnesota, that for many years previous to the Sioux outbreak, James W. Lynd was engaged in the preparation of a work on the North American Indians, especially those of the Dakota family. This was in such a state of preparation that the winter before his violent death, he expected to have had it published.

The manuscript has been found in a somewhat damaged condition.

Bearing date Fort Ridgley, Jan. 6, 1864, I received a letter from Captain L. W. Shepherd. He says: "I have briefly to state that in the course of the spring of 1863, an enlisted man who was employed under my direction, at the Lower Sioux Agency saw-mill, there or near Little Crow's village, found six bundles of manuscript History of the Dakotas and other North American Indians, which he gave to me, and I yet have in my possession. Many pages seem to be gone. He said some of the same soldiers, under the mistaken idea that it was valueless, used the same for cleaning arms."

In reply to this letter I suggested that the manuscript be placed in the rooms of the Minnesota Historical Society, subject to the reclamation of Mr. Lynd's father or brothers.

James William Lynd was possessed of an acquisitive and well balanced mind, and had the advantage of a good education. He was said to have been a good mathematician, and his talent for acquiring languages was certainly

of a high order. He had also cultivated music to some extent. But with all this mental cultivation, he attaches himself to the Indian trade, and for a number of years may be said to have lived in a wigwam. Whatever disadvantages morally and religiously must have attended this manner of life, there can be no question that it gave him an opportunity of learning the inside of Dakota life and Dakota legend, such as missionaries did not have, and *could not have enjoyed.*

It is known that Mr. Lynd's aim was to write a historical work, embracing in its scope the origin and destiny, the manners and customs, the language and religion, the character and the legends of the Dakota tribes. For myself, after an examination of what remains of his manuscript, I can say truly that I am better satisfied with his success than I expected to be. He expresses himself clearly and forcibly; and every page attests his diligent investigation. Although in some of his statements and conclusions I should be obliged to differ from him, yet, on the whole, I regard him as truthful and trustworthy.

The first chapter of Mr. Lynd's work is entitled "The Dakota Tribes of the Northwest." This portion of the manuscript is nearly perfect, consisting of more than fifty pages. Mr. Lynd first takes a general view of the different Indian *stocks*, in this part of North America—as the Algonquin, the Iroquois, the Mobilian, and the Dakota. And then turning his attention to the latter, he gives some account of the various tribes which are regarded as belonging to this great family. These he arranges as follows:—

The Sioux, or Dakota proper; the Assinaboines; the Mandans; Upsarokas, or Crows; the Winnebagoes; the Osages; the Kansas; the Kappaws; the Ottoes; the Missourias; the Iowas; the Omahas; the Poncas; the Arrickarees; the Minnetarees or Gros-Ventres; the Arkansas and the Pawnees. Some of the California tribes, he thinks,

belong to this family. Whether the Chiennes find a place here or not, is still a question.

The Ahahaway and the Unktoka are mentioned as two lost tribes. The former were a branch of the Upsarokas, and lived on the Upper Missouri. The Unktoka, meaning "our enemies," all said to have lived in Wiskonsan, south of the St. Croix, and to have been destroyed by the Iowas about the commencement of the present century.

"The Sioux and their Country" is the subject of the second chapter. It is quite fragmentary—only a dozen pages remaining out of more than thirty.

The legend of the Red Pipe Stone Quarry, contained in this chapter, is not devoid of interest. "The Pipe Stone Quarry is a place of great importance to the Sioux. From it they obtain the red stone clay—Catlinite—of which their pipes and images are formed; and a peculiar sacredness is, in their minds, attached to the place. Numerous high bluffs and cliffs surround it; and the alluvial flat below these, in which the quarry is situated, contains a huge boulder that rests upon a flat rock of glistening, smooth appearance, the level of which is but a few inches above the surface of the ground. Upon the portions of this rock not covered by the boulder above and upon the boulder itself are carved sundry wonderful figures—lizzards, snakes, otters, Indian gods, rabbits with cloven feet, muskrats with human feet, and other strange and incomprehensible things —all cut into the solid granite, and not without a great deal of time and labor expended in the performance. The commoner Indians, even to this day, are accustomed to look upon these with feelings of mysterious awe, as they call to mind the legend connected therewith.

"A large party of Ehanktonwanna and Teetonwan Dakotas, says the legend, had gathered together at the quarry to dig the stone. Upon a sultry evening, just before sunset, the heavens suddenly became overclouded, accompanied

by heavy rumbling thunder, and every sign of an approaching storm, such as frequently arises on the prairie without much warning. Each one hurried to his lodge expecting a storm, when a vivid flash of lightning, followed immediately by a crashing peal of thunder, broke over them, and, looking towards the huge boulder beyond their camp, they saw a pillar or column of smoke standing upon it, which moved to and fro, and gradually settled down into the outline of a huge giant, seated upon the boulder, with one long arm extended to heaven and the other pointing down to his feet. Peal after peal of thunder, and flashes of lightning in quick succession followed, and this figure then suddenly disappeared. The next morning the Sioux went to this boulder, and found these figures and images upon it, where before there had been nothing; and ever since that the place has been regarded as *wakan* or *sacred*."

But little light is yet thrown on the question of the *origin* of these people. The Mandans are said to have a tradition that they came from *under* the earth. They lived, long ago, down under the crust of the earth, by a large lake. A grape-vine pushed its roots down through. By means of the vine they crawled up through to the beautiful world above. But a large fat woman tried to climb up the vine and broke it, thus preventing the remainder of the tribe from coming up to the light.

The Osages are said to connect themselves in their origin with the beaver. The first father of the Osages was hunting on the prairie all alone. He came to a beaver dam, where he saw the chief of all the beavers, who gave him one of his daughters to wife. From this alliance sprang the Osages.

The Yankton Dakotas have a tradition of the first man, woman, and baby. The man found the woman on the prairie. He hunted for her, and they lived very happily together. The woman grew fatter than the man. By and

by he came home from hunting, and found the woman sitting in a corner of the teepee with something that squalled. He thought it was a bird.

But, tradition aside, Mr. Lynd thinks that the arguments from language and special customs, lead us to connect the North American Indians with the Asiatics, and especially with the Hindoos. In the Faquir of India he finds a brother of the dreaming god seeking Dakota. "The waters of the Mississippi and the Missouri mingle with the Ganges and the Indus."

The chapter on "Early History," which is the third, concludes in this way: "One thing alone is evident through this ancient gloom. A great *past idea*, that has no reference to the present state of the Indian, is still *self-existent* in him, and points with unmistakable finger to an origin beyond the land of his later inheritance. But it passes over him like a dream in a dream, and seems enwrapped in the mantle of silence."

Of Mr. Lynd's chapter on character only about ten pages are preserved. In a note he draws a likeness of the Ta-o-ya-tay-doo-ta, or Little Crow, which may be interesting.

"Among the present living chiefs of the Dakotas, Ta-o-ya-tay-doo-ta is the greatest man. He possesses a shrewd judgment, great foresight, and a comprehensive mind, together with that greatest of requisites in a statesman, caution. As an orator, he has not his equal in any living tribe of Indians. His oratory is bold, impassioned, and persuasive; and his arguments are nearly always forcible and logical.

"In appearance Little Crow is dignified and commanding, though at times restless and anxious. He is about five feet ten inches in height, with rather sharp features and a piercing hazel eye, too small for beauty. His head is small, but his forehead bold. Altogether he reminds me

very strikingly, if I may be allowed the expression, of the late ex-Governor Morehead of Kentucky, whom he certainly resembles in physical characteristics, except tallness."

"Religion," is the title of one of the most perfect and valuable chapters in this work, and one which would, in my opinion, make a very good article in some literary review.

One of the last chapters in this work is entitled "The Destiny of the Dakota Tribes." None of the perfected copy of this part, and only a portion of the first leaves remains. Perhaps this is less to be regretted, as the sad occurrences of the past twenty months have materially changed the apparent destiny of the Sioux. When writing these chapters, Mr. Lynd had little thought that he would be the first victim of such an insane uprising.

In regard to this destiny he takes a hopeful view. The "painted face and naked skin" of other peoples have been changed into more civilized appearances—and why not these? Mr. Lynd is very just to our missionary work. "It has been," he says, "a ceaseless and untiring effort to promote their welfare."

Again, he says, "The influence of the Mission among the Dakotas has ever been of a direct and energetic character. The first efforts of the Mission were directed more to the christianizing than to the civilizing of the Sioux; but of late the missionaries, though their exertions in the former respect are not at all abated, have been more earnest in their endeavors to teach the Indians to plant and till."

It is not strange that Mr. Lynd should make this mistake. Our previous efforts in that direction were bringing forth fruit in the latter years of the mission. The Bible carries with it the plough and the hoe.

There is also a well-written introduction to this work, which is nearly complete, of more than twenty pages. The

manuscript, imperfect as it is, I regard as quite valuable. And I would suggest that, in case it is not claimed by Mr. Lynd's friends, the Historical Society would do well to have it published in some form. Illustrated, it would make a valuable book.

Yours truly,

S. R. RIGGS.

St. Anthony, May 13, 1864.

THE RELIGION OF THE DAKOTAS.

CHAPTER SIX OF MR. LYND'S MANUSCRIPT.

A STRANGER, coming among the Dakotas for the first time, and observing the endless variety of objects upon which they bestow their devotion, and the manifold forms which that worship assumes, at once pronounces them *Pantheists*. A further acquaintance with them convinces him that they are Pantheists of no ordinary kind—that their pantheism is negative as well as positive, and that the engraftments of religion are even more numerous than the true branches. Upon a superficial glance he sees nought but an inextricable maze of Gods, Demons, Spirits, beliefs and counter-beliefs, earnest devotion and reckless skepticism, prayers, sacrifices and sneers, winding and intermingling with each other, until a labyrinth of pantheism and skepticism results, and the Dakota, with all his infinity of deities appears a creature of irreligion. One speaks of the Medicine Dance with respect, while another smiles at the name—one makes a religion of the Raw Fish Feast, whilst another stands by and laughs at his performance—and others, listening to the supposed revelations of the Circle Dance, with reverend attention, are sneered at by a class who deny *in toto* the *wakan* nature of that ceremony. What one believes another appears to deny; and though pantheism rears itself prominent above all, yet the skepticism of the one part seems to offset the earnest devotion of the other.

To such an observer, indeed, the living faith seems wanting in the mind of a Dakota. He has been told that such

or such a belief is true; and he receives it as the living do sweet odors in a dream—an impression is made, but it may be nothing which made it. He appears to deem the senses everything, the ideal nothing; and though there is no more imaginative being in existence than the Indian, yet it seems an essential idealism, having reference only to reality. He will play with ideas in a practical form—follow the most fantastic trains of thought with a ready vigor and strong originality; but the train vanishes, and the amusement is over. Express as truth a single thought beyond his reason, or in apparent conflict with the evidences of his senses or his own hereditary beliefs, and a stereotyped expression of incredence will invariably pass over him.

Such, upon a rude acquaintance, appears to be the religious character and belief of the Dakotas. Well might the question be asked—what is the religion of this people? Were this all that a deeper investigation showed, the religion of the Dakotas would indeed be a problem of no easy solution. But the secrets of no religion are reached by a mere knowledge of its forms. The deeper sources must be gained ere its character be known; and to judge even of many of the modern Christian ceremonies by outward appearances could be productive of only false results.

In common with all the nations of the earth the Dakotas believe in a Wakantanka or *Great Spirit.* But this Being is not alone in the universe. Numbers of minor divinities are scattered throughout space, some of whom are placed high in the scale of power. Their ideas concerning the Great Spirit appear to be, that He is the creator of the world, and has existed from all time. But after creating the world and all that is in it, He sank into silence, and since then has failed to take any interest in the affairs of this our planet. They never pray to Him, for they deem Him too far away to hear them, or as not being concerned in their affairs. No sacrifices are made to Him, nor dances

in His honor. Of all the spirits, He is the Great Spirit: but His power is only latent or negative. They swear by Him at times, but more commonly by other divinities.*

* No question has more puzzled—and, it may be said, unnecessarily—those who have gone among the Sioux, than that of, *who the Wakantanka or Great Spirit is?* Though the name is frequently heard, yet it does not appear to be well understood even by the Sioux themselves: and from the fact that they offer no praise, sacrifices, or feasts to that Divinity, many have gone so far as to imagine that the *name, even, was introduced to their acquaintance by the whites.*

Nothing could be more unfounded than this. Not to mention the absurdity of the proposition that so radical an idea as that of one spirit being superior to and more powerful than all others—an idea at the bottom of and pervading all religions, even of the most barbarous—should meet with an exception in the Dakotas; there are internal proofs of its native origin, both in the testimony of the people, and in the use of the word itself. The Dakotas themselves aver that Wakantanka (the Great Spirit) has always been held divine among them—though they cannot call to mind the time when He ever was worshipped, and acknowledge that but little is known or thought about him.

We have already seen that the word Wakantanka is of frequent occurrence in the *Wakan-Wohanpi* or Sacred Feasts, and that it is used interchangeably with the Algonquin word *Maneto* or Great Spirit. This alone is proof enough, but there are other proofs. In the Medicine Dance, which, though very modern as far as the Dakotas are concerned, was introduced among them long years before any mission reached them, the Wakantanka is expressly declared to have been the creator of the world. Further proof is not required.

The idea of a Great Spirit is a fixed one in their minds; but they look upon him as a Negative Good, with no attributes whatever of a positive or active character; and when they call upon him to witness anything, as they now frequently do in conversing with whites, it is as *the God of the white man* that they do so, and not as the God of the Dakotas.

With regard to the attributes of the Wakantanka, as they are all latent or unexercised, so they attract no notice from the Dakotas: for why should they address one who, they imagine, cannot hear them, and who takes no interest in them actively? They certainly would be far from showing that "humanity has a common character," if they did so. The *Wakantanka* of the Dakotas is, indeed, an exact prototype of the ancient Brahm of the Hindoos: and no one will be so rash as to hazard the asser-

The Divinities of Evil among the Dakotas may be called legion. Their special delight is to make man miserable or to destroy him. Demons wandering through the earth causing sickness and death—spirits of evil ready to pounce upon and destroy the unwary—the Thunder Bird scattering his fires here and there, striking down whom he lists—spirits of the darkness, spirits of the light—spirits of earth, air, fire, and water surround him upon every side, and with but one great governing object in view, the misery and destruction of the human race. The wanderer is lured by will o' wisp to dark marshes and obscure places but to be strangled; the benighted traveller is tormented by spirits along the way, till he lies down in despair to die: the stray lodge becomes the delight of the wild *Ohnogica*, and women with child are but torturing sports for the vengeful *Anogite*. All their divinities, with the exception of the Wakantanka or Great Spirit, take especial delight in deeds of darkness, and are emphatically workers in the night. When the hail has destroyed all their crops and famine is upon them; when, in the deep snows of winter, the buffaloes, thick around their lodges, are seized with a sudden panic, and run for days with their noses to the wind, rendering it impossible to follow; when a whole camp is struck down by some epidemic, and fear and dread are in their midst: then it is that the *Genii* delight to torture and pursue, to pull, wrack, tear, and rend them with all sorts of tricks and inventions, till their wrath is appeased or the people can escape. The ubiquitous *Unktomi* tortures them in their hunger by bringing herds of buffaloes near the camp, which they no sooner start to pursue than he drives away by means of a black wolf and a white crow: *Canotidan* draws

tion that because the present Hindoostanese worship minor deities—almost entirely ignoring Brahm—therefore *the Hindoos derived their knowledge of Brahm from some other nation.* Yet the one supposition is no less ridiculous than the other.

the hungry hunters to the depths of the wood by imitating the voices of animals, or by the nefarious "cico! cico!"* when he scares them out of their senses by showing himself to them; and the vindictive *Iya* drives them back from the hunt to the desolation of their own lodges.

Their religious system gives to everything a spirit or soul. Even the commonest stones, sticks, and clays have a spiritual essence attached to them which must needs be reverenced—for these spirits, too, vent their wrath upon mankind. Indeed, there is no object, however trivial, but has its spirit. The whole material or visible world, as well as the invisible, is but one immense theatre for spirits and fiends to play their torments upon mankind. Frequently the devout Dakota will make images of bark or stone, and, after painting them in various ways and putting sacred down upon them, will fall down in worship before them, praying that all danger may be averted from him and his. It must not be understood, however, that the Dakota is an idolater. It is not the *image* which he worships, any more than it is the *cross* which is worshipped by Catholics, but the *spiritual essence* which is represented by that image, and which is supposed to be ever near it. The essentially physical cast of the Indian mind (if I may be allowed the expression) requires some outward and tangible representation of things spiritual, before he can comprehend them. The God must be present, by image or in person, ere he can offer up his devotions.

This system of giving to everything a spiritual essence, seems to have prevailed among all the Indian tribes both of North and South America.

"The Peruvians believed that everything on earth had its archetype or idea—its *mother*, as they emphatically

* The form of invitation to a feast.

styled it—which they held sacred, as, in some sort, its spiritual essence."*

Similar to this is the general Dakota belief that each *class* of animals or objects of a like kind, possesses a peculiar guardian divinity, which is the mother archetype. The resemblance of this to the Egyptian doctrine is not unnoticed.†

Sexuality is a prominent feature in the religion of the Dakotas. Of every species of divinity (with the exception of the Wakantanka or Great Spirit) there is a plurality, part male and part female. This belief, which was also a part of the ancient Egyptian creed, is common, as far as I can learn, to all the Dakota nations. The first Unktehi (Sea God) for instance, created from a rib by the Wakantanka himself, was a male, and the second one was feminine. From these two sprung all the numerous Unktehi, both male and female, that are now scattered through the waters and upon the face of the earth. Yet the Dakota carries this idea farther than I understand the ancient Egyptian to have done; for even the spirits which are supposed to dwell in earth, twigs, and other inanimate substances, are invested with distinctions of sex.

To the human body the Dakotas give *four spirits*. The first is supposed to be a spirit of the body, and dies with the body. The second is a spirit which always remains with or near the body. Another is the soul which accounts for the deeds of the body, and is supposed by some to go to the south, by others, to the west, after the death of the body. The fourth always lingers with the small bundle of hair of the deceased, kept by the relatives until

* Prescott's Conquest of Peru, book i., chap. 3.

† Among the ancient Egyptians each animal was supposed to be under the protection of some god. Hence they represent each god by a human body, with the head of the animal sacred to it. True Christian hieroglyphics of such character are not lacking even at the present day.

they have a chance to throw it into the enemy's country, when it becomes a roving, restless spirit, bringing death and disease to the enemy whose country it is in.

From this belief arose the practice of wearing four scalp-feathers for each enemy slain in battle, one for each soul.*

With regard to the place of abode of the four souls of men—though they believe that the true soul that goes *south* or *west* is immortal—they have no idea, nor do they appear to have any particular care as to what may become of them after death. Like the primitive Hebrews, they appear to be looking solely to temporal blessings. It may be remarked, that "*the happy hunting grounds*," supposed to belong to every Indian's future, are no part of the Dakota creed—though individual Dakotas may have learned something like it from the white men among them who are impregnated with the idea.

The belief in the powers of some Dakotas to call up and converse with the spirits of the dead is strong in some, though not general. They frequently make feasts to these spirits and elicit information from them of distant relatives or friends. Assembling at night in a lodge, they smoke, put out the fire, and then, drawing their blankets over their heads, remain singing in unison in a low key until the spirit gives them a picture. This they pretend the spirit does; and many a hair-erecting tale is told of spirits' power to reveal, and the after confirmation.

The following will give the reader a view of this spirit-power they deem some to possess: In the winter of 1830 were encamped at Big Stone Lake a large body of Sioux, composed mainly of Sisitons, Ihanktons, and Mdewakantons. Buffalo were plenty, the winter mild, and feasting,

* Some Sioux claim a *fifth* scalp-feather, averring that there is a *fifth spirit* which enters the body of some animal or child after death. As far as I am aware this belief is not general, though they differ in their accounts of the spirits of man, even in the number.

dancing, and gambling were in full play among them. A war party was set on foot against the Ojibwas, who occupied the country about Fort Ripley; and all the young braves and many of the older men joined in and started. The Mdewakantons were encamped eight miles below the rest of the Sioux; but on the evening of the second day after the war party had started, just as night was falling, a panic siezed the whole body of Sioux, and, Sisitons and all, as if by a preconcerted movement, they struck their tents and moved on to an island in the lake in huddled confusion. They were now altogether, and no apparent danger, but still the panic remained. Finally, an old woman, ninety-two years of age, said that she would consult the spirits. In their fear they were ready to listen to anything; so a lodge was cleared, a small fire kindled in it from flint and steel, and the old woman entered, closing the door after her tightly. Seating herself she lighted the black pipe, and after smoking for a time laid it aside, beat out the fire, and then drawing her blanket over her head she commenced to sing in a low key in anticipation of a revelation from the spirits. Crowds of women and children, together with a few old men, surrounded the lodge, waiting anxiously for what should follow. Suddenly the old woman was heard to cry out, as if in extreme terror; and hastily throwing open the door, they found her lying upon the ground in a swoon. On coming to she related that she had seen a terrible picture. Fourteen men arose up from the west, bloody and without their scalps, and facing these rose up great numbers from the east, thirteen of whom appeared with blood upon their forms and apparently about falling.

Two days afterwards the Sioux came home with fourteen scalps, but with thirteen of their own party on biers. The Ojibwas had come west to make war, but seeing the very large Sioux war trail had turned to go east again, and the Sioux *vice versa*. Thus the Sioux were coming west and

the Ojibwa going east—which confirmed the old woman's revelation in every respect.

Certain men also profess to have an unusual amount of the *wakan* or divine principle in them. By it they assume the working of miracles, laying on of hands, curing of the sick, and many more wonderful operations. It is this *wakan* in men which operates in the *powwowing* of the Dakotas. Some of these persons pretend to a recollection of former states of existence, even naming the particular body they formerly lived in. Others, again, assert their power over nature, and their faculty of seeing into futurity and of conversing with the deities. A third class will talk of the particular animal whose body they intend to enter when loosed from their present existence.

In endeavoring to sustain these pretensions they occasionally go through performances which are likely to deceive the ignorant throng.

At a feast made in honor of *Heyoka*, the anti-natural God, they assemble in a lodge with tall conical hats, nearly naked, and painted in strange style. Upon the fire is placed a huge kettle full of meat, and they remain seated around the fire smoking, until the water in the kettle begins to boil, which is the signal for the dance to commence. They dance and sing around it excitedly, plunging their hands into the boiling water, and seizing large pieces of hot meat, which they devour at once. The scalding water is thrown over their backs and legs, at which they never wince, complaining that it is cold. Their skin is first deadened, as I am credibly informed, by rubbing with a certain grass; and they do not, in reality, experience any uneasiness from the boiling water—a fact which gives their performances great mystery in the eyes of the uninitiated.

At other times a lodge will be entirely cleared of everything in it, and one of these *faquirs* will produce ropes and thongs, desiring some of the stronger men to tie him

tightly. The tying is usually done by those not connected with the performance, and some of these affirm that they have tied their arms, elbows, and feet so tightly as to break the skin, and then tied the feet to the hands and enveloped almost the whole body in knots and twists that it would seem impossible to undo. The person thus tied is put into the empty lodge by himself, and the door made fast from without. No one is allowed to touch or go near the lodge, and the Indian thus bound remains singing alone for a few minutes, when he cries out, the door is opened, and he comes forth free from bonds.

This ceremony is performed to obtain an interview with *Takushkanshkan* (the moving God), who is supposed to release them. It is looked upon by the throng as in the highest degree *wakan*.

Pantheism rests at the foundation of all the religion of the Dakotas. In strictness, it can hardly be called Pantheism, for they do not believe that the whole universe is but an expansion of *one* God, but that everything in the universe has its own spiritual essence or god. Yet for want of a better term (since *polytheism* is much too limited in its signification), I may be permitted to use it.

No one deity is held by them all as a superior object of worship. Some deem one thing or deity as *iyotan wakan*, or the supreme object of worship, whilst others reject this and substitute a different one as the main god. Thus, those Dakotas who belong to the Medicine Dance, esteem Unktehi as the greatest divinity. The western tribes neglect that deity, and pay their main devotion to Tunkan (*Inyan*), the Stone God, or *Lingam*. As a result of these differences of worship, an *apparent* skepticism arises on the ancient divinities among them, whilst a *real* skepticism exists as to their intrusive forms of religion. The Dakota, indeed, is not a creature that ignores reason. When the great men of the medicine dance assert that they have power to fly,

that they can cure disease by a word, can slay animals or men by a nod—the western Dakota smiles at their pretensions. The medicine dance is no part of his hereditary creed; he does not know these things to be true. His ancient faith, and the instructions of his early days, he clings to, but looks with suspicion upon these new ideas.

The radical *forms of worship* obtaining among the Dakotas are few and simple. One of the most primitive and ancient is that of "Woshnapi," or *sacrifice*. To every divinity that they worship, they make sacrifices. Upon recovery from sickness—upon the occurrence of a long-wished-for event, on disease appearing among a family or camp, and even upon the most trivial occasions—the gods are either thanked or supplicated by sacrifice. The religious idea it carries with it is at the foundation of all their ancient ceremonies, and shows itself even in the every-day life of the Dakota. The Wohduze or *Taboo* had its origin here; the Wiwanyag Wacipi, or *Sun Dance*, carries with it the idea; the Wakan Wohanpi, or Sacred Feast (Feast of the First-fruits), is a practical embodiment of it; and Hanmdepi, or God-seeking of the sterner western tribes, is but a form of *self-sacrifice*.

No Dakota, in his worship, neglects this ceremony. It enters into his religious thoughts by day and by night, in the midst of multitudes or alone on the prairie; and even upon the death bed their thoughts wander back to the teachings of their childhood and the sacrifices of their early days; and their last breath is spent, like the immortal Socrates, in ordering the fulfilment of their forgotten vows or in directing the final sacrifice for their own spirit.

The sacrifices made upon recovery from sickness are never composed of anything very valuable, for the poverty of the Indian will not permit this. Usually a small strip of muslin, or a piece of red cloth, a few skins of some animal, or other things of no great use or value, are employed.

Sometimes a pan or kettle is laid up for a sacrifice. But after a short time the end for which the sacrifice was made is attained, and it is removed. Those in need of such things as they see offered for sacrifice may take them for their own use, being careful to substitute some other article.

Perhaps the most common forms of sacrifice are those which are made in the hunt. Particular portions of each animal killed are held sacred to the god of the chase or other deities. If a deer is killed, the head, heart, or some other portion of it is sacrificed by the one who slays it. The part sacrificed differs with different individuals. In ducks and fowls the most common sacrifice is of the wing, though many sacrifice the heart, and a few the head.

This custom is called *wohduze*, and is always constant with individuals, *i. e.*, the same part is always sacrificed; yet there are a few experienced hunters who have mixed much with the whites, and who have learned to abandon this custom.

Of a like character with this *wohduze*, or special sacrifice, though disconnected from it, and instituted for a different purpose, is the *taboo*. It bears the name of *wohduze* (the same as that just described), but is by no means the same.

When a youth arrives at an age proper for going on the war path, he first purifies himself by fasting and the inipi or steam bath for the term of three days, and then goes, with tears in his eyes, to some medicine man, whose *wakan* influence is undoubted, and prays that he will present him with the *wotawe*, or consecrated armor. This medicine man is usually some old and experienced *zuya-wakan*, or sacred war-leader. After a time the armor—usually consisting of a *spear*, an *arrow*, and a small bundle of *paint**

* It is a singular fact that nothing but the *spear* of this armor is ever used in battle, though it is always carried with them upon war parties.

—is presented to the young man; but until it is so presented, he must fast and continue his purifications incessantly.

At the same time that the old man presents the armor, he tells the youth to what animal it is dedicated, and enjoins it upon him to hold that animal sacred. He must never kill or harm it, even though starvation be upon him. At all times and under all circumstances the "taboo" or *sacred injunction* is upon it, until, by slaying numerous enemies it is gradually removed. By some the animal is held sacred during life, the *taboo* being voluntarily retained. Frequently they form images of this animal and carry about with them, regarding it as having a direct influence upon their every-day life and upon their ultimate destiny—a thing supernatural, all-powerful, and sacred.*

Among the Algonquin tribes it is represented that each person had his *tutelar divinity*, and always carried some token of this divinity about with him.

Now, although our knowledge of the Algonquins is more complete than of any other North American race, yet the question may be asked whether these tutelary divinities and the image of the taboo are not one and the same thing? The Algonquins possessed sacred armor; and, if sacred, was it not dedicated to some object? and would not that object assume the same importance, in the eyes of the individuals possessing the armor so dedicated,

* At various times the missionaries have endeavored to get the Sioux to sign the *temperance pledge*. They were all willing enough to touch the pen in token of signature, but no inducements could make them draw the figure of their *taboo:* for should they break such a pledge—a thing they were doubtless all looking to—it would be great sin, and call down the wrath of the *spirit of the taboo* upon them. Many, however, out of a desire to please would draw an animal for a signature, but not the true one of their own individual taboo.

as the spirit of the taboo does in the mind of the Dakota? It is certainly plausible.*

Hand in hand with the sacrificial system, or, rather, one of its most prevalent forms, is the Wakan Wohanpi or Sacred Feast. Formerly no Dakota would partake of the first-fruits of the field or of the hunt without offering a part, by the Sacred Feast, to the deities: but, at the present day, these feasts are not confined wholly to this idea, but are made even upon trivial occasions. It must not be understood, however, that the practice of propitiating the deities, or thanking them by an offering of the *first-fruits*, has died out. On the contrary, it is in full force among them. Some are even so religious that they

* I must here be permitted to hazard a conjecture as to the origin of the *totemic system* of the Algonquin and Huron-Iroquois races.

In each of the Okodakiciyapi or *secret societies* among the Dakota tribes, there is one object that is specially worshipped, and every member of any particular society of this kind holds the other members as brothers. In the *taboo* also one animal is the sacred object of many persons. Thus many Dakotas have the *wolf* for *taboo;* others have the lynx as a common god, to whom their war-spears are dedicated; and still other classes the *otter*, *fox*, *bear*, etc. There can be no doubt that the *Zuya Wakan*, who bestows these sacred animals as a *taboo* on the Dakotas, does so, at this day, at random. Yet, numerous persons, finding themselves with the same *taboo*, and esteeming the same animal *wakan*, would naturally unite into one society; and thus one common taboo would render them one common okodakiciyapi or family. This is further corroborated by the fact, that even in common life, where one Dakota takes another as his *koda*, *i. e.*, god, or friend, they become brothers in each other's families, and are, as such, of course unable to intermarry, thus corresponding with the *totemic system*, in which members of the same badge cannot marry. The *image of the taboo*, then, may be, at the same time, the *totem* of the Algonquin, and his supposed *tutelary divinity;* and it is not improbable that the totemic system had its origin here. It is true that non-intermarriage is not prohibited strictly in the okodakiciyapi of the Dakotas; but its exceedingly rudimentary state, as compared with the thorough and fundamental system of the Algonquins, will account for this.

will partake of no food without offering a portion to the divinities as a sacrifice.* But the system has been extended, so that is by no means confined to the *first*-fruits, but is made upon every occasion. The touch of time is upon this, as upon all the customs of the race, and they are altered and debased. But the main idea stands prominent over all, notwithstanding the changes.

It is impossible to name all the deities to whom these Sacred Feasts are made. The most common offering is to the spirit of the medicine sack; and this, among the eastern Dakotas, has supplanted all the rest.

The inference has been made by some whites, who have carefully observed this ceremony, that, as the sacrifices to the evil divinities are mostly of a propitiatory character, and as the Sacred Feast appears to be more a ceremony of thanks than otherwise, it was originally intended for thanks to the Wakan Tanka, or Great Spirit. Yet the Dakotas do not now so understand it, nor, indeed, appear to know anything of its ordination.

Hanmdepi or God-Seeking is a form of religion among the Dakotas that bears within it very ancient footprints. The meaning of this word, in its common acceptation, appears to be greatly misunderstood by some. Literally, it means only *to dream*, and is but another form of the word *hanmna:* but in its use it is applied almost wholly to the custom of *seeking for a dream or revelation*, practised by the Sisitonwan, Ihanktonwanna, and Titonwan, Sioux, and by the Crows, Minnitarees, Assinaboines, and other western Dakotas. In this respect it has no reference whatever to the common dreams of sleep, but means simply the form of religion practised.

* "Others again [Sioux] will never eat unless they bestow the first mouthful as an offering to the prairie."—*Sage's Western Scenes, Philadelphia: G. D. Miller*, 1855, p. 81.

If a Dakota desires to be particularly successful in any (to him) important undertaking, he first purifies himself by the *Inipi* or steam bath, and by fasting for a term of three days. During the whole of this time he avoids women and society, is secluded in his habits, and endeavors in every way to etherealize himself, preparatory to the performance of his religious rites, in order that he may be pure enough to receive a revelation from the deity he invokes. When the period of fasting is passed, he is ready for the sacrifice, which is made in various ways.

Some, passing a knife through the breast and arms, attach cords or thongs thereto, which are fastened at the other end to the top of a tall pole raised for the purpose, and thus they hang, suspended only by these cords, for two, three, and even four days, gazing upon vacancy, their minds intently fixed upon the object in which they desire to be assisted by the deity, and waiting for a vision from above. Once a day an assistant is sent to look upon the person thus sacrificing himself. If the deities have vouchsafed him a vision or revelation he signifies the same by motions, and is released at once: if he be silent, his silence is understood, and he is left alone to his barbarous reveries.

Others attach a buffalo hair rope to the head of a buffalo just as it is severed from the animal, and to the other end affix a hook which is then passed through the large muscles in the small of the back, and thus fastened they drag the head all over the camp, their minds meanwhile being fixed intently, as in the first instance, upon the object in which they are beseeching the deity to assist them.

A third class pass knives through the flesh in various parts of the body, and wait in silence, though with fixed mind, for a dream or revelation.

A few, either not blessed with the powers of endurance or else lacking the courage of the class first named, will plant a pole upon the steep bank of a stream, and attaching

ropes to the muscles of the arms and breast, as in the first instance, will stand, but not hang, gazing into space, without food or drink, for days.

Still another class of these *faquirs* practise the Hanmdepi without such horrid self-sacrifice. For weeks—nay, for months—they will fix their minds intently upon any desired object to the exclusion of all others, frequently crying about the camp, occasionally taking a little food but fasting for the most part, and earnestly seeking a revelation from their god.

The sufferings they undergo in these self-torturings are excruciating. In the first instances, particularly, the overpowering thirst, the change from the heat of day to the cold dews of night, the gnawings of hunger, and the inflamed muscles, all produce sufferings with which even death is not a comparison. No Hindoo devotees could be more earnest or sincere in their self-immolation than these poor Dakotas in their Hanmdepi. They practise these ceremonies daily. Among the eastern Dakotas the Medicine Dance appears to have taken the place of these more barbarous ceremonies—among the Winnebagoes, entirely. Indeed, the Medicine Dance, though an intrusive religious form, may be considered as an elevating and enlightening religion in comparison with the Hanmdepi. That this barbarous religious ceremony is even now commencing to fall away, under the combined influence of contact with the white man and intrusive religions, is very evident; and a century or even half a century hence, it will most likely be numbered with the dead customs.

The Wiwanyag Wacipi or *Worship of the Sun* as a divinity, is evidently one of the most radical bases of Dakota religion. It has a subordinate origin in the Wihanmnapi or *dreaming*, and is intimately connected with Hanmdepi or *Vision Hunting*. This most ancient of all worships, though it is of very frequent occurrence among the Da-

kotas, does not take place at stated intervals as among the old nations of the East, nor does the whole tribe participate in the ceremonies. It is performed by one person alone, such of his relatives or friends assisting in the ceremonies as may deem fit or as he may designate.

Preparatory to this, as to all the other sacred ceremonies of the Dakotas, is fasting and purification. The Dance commences with the rising of the sun and continues for three days, or until such time as the dreaming worshipper shall receive a vision from the spirit or divinity of the Sun. He faces the sun constantly, turning as it turns, and keeping up a constant blowing with a wooden whistle. A rude drum is beaten at intervals, to which he keeps time with his feet, raising one after the other, and bending his body towards the sun. Short intervals of rest are given during the dance. The mind of the worshipper is fixed intently upon some great desire that he has, and is, as it were, isolated from the body. In this state they are said to receive revelations from the sun, and to hold direct intercourse with that deity.

If the worshipper of this luminary, however, should fail to receive the desired revelation before the close of the ceremonies, then self-sacrifice is resorted to, and the ceremonies of the *Hanmdepi* become a part of the worship of the Sun.

Yet, in all the sacrifices of the Dakotas, we find no such barbarous offerings as were made by the ancient Egyptians, Persians, Assyrians, Greeks, Romans, and by the old Peruvians and Aztecs. Human sacrifices form no part of their religion. In this respect the barbarism of the West presents a nobler history than that of the East. Only one instance is on record,* in the whole history of Dakota

* The sacrifice of a son by his own father, mentioned in *Schoolcraft's Condition and Prospects*, IV., 51, as occurring among the Sioux, is be-

nations, where such a sacrifice was offered. This was among the Pawnees. A young Sioux girl who had been taken captive by that nation was put to death by holding fire under her arms and feet, and her body, still quivering, was then cut into small pieces. From each of these pieces a drop of blood was squeezed over their cornfields as a sacrifice to the god of the harvest. Yet the Dakotas look upon such actions with horror, even where the sacrifice is in the person of an enemy. The slaying of enemies in war may, indeed, be regarded as a sort of sacrifice; but the deliberate sacrifice of a prisoner as a form of religion is not a custom among them. They usually adopt prisoners into the nation and treat them kindly.

Nor do we find that bigoted attachment to one form of religion and suspicion of all others, so common even among Christian nations. Their hereditary religion they cling to with tenacity, and a generous skepticism arises with regard to the intrusive forms of religion among them. But those who adopt these last they never persecute nor ostracize. They are *tolerant*, but *jealous*. This last word, indeed, accounts for their hostility to those who have embraced Christianity. They can tolerate, but they dread encroachments which overturn *all* their religion.

The deities upon which the most worship is bestowed, if, indeed, any particular one is nameable, are Tunkan (*Inyan*) the *Stone God*, and Wakinyan the *Thunder Bird*. The latter, as being the main god of war, receives constant worship and sacrifice; whilst the adoration of the former is an every-day affair. The *Tunkan*, the Dakotas say, is the god that dwells in stones or rocks, and is the *oldest* god.

lieved—if, indeed, the thing ever took place—to be the only instance ever known among them. It must be looked upon, as the Sioux themselves look upon any such transaction when spoken of to them, as an instance of insanity, and consequently hardly worth mentioning. Certainly nothing could be farther from their customs.

If asked why it is considered the oldest, they will tell you because it is the *hardest*—an Indian's reason. The most usual form of stone employed in worship is round, and about the size of the human head. The devout Dakota paints this *Tunkan* red, putting colored swan's down upon it, and then falls down and worships the god which is supposed to dwell in it or to hover near it.

What the general belief of the Dakotas is with regard to the resurrection of the body, I am unable to ascertain. The old Peruvians—who bear more than one sign in their language, manners, customs, and religion, of a co-origin with the Dakotas—had their *mummies* or a preservation of the body with a view to resurrection, but they were a fixed nation and could do so. Had the Dakota nations been localized in the same manner, perhaps the same thing would have occurred among them.*

There are those among the Dakotas who profess to believe in the doctrine of *transmigration*, or the passage of the soul after death into the body of some animal. It is this class that give a *fifth* soul to man. Some few of these metempsychosists even go so far as to aver that they have distinct recollections of a former state of existence, and of the passage into this. The belief, as before stated, does not appear to be general.

In the worship of their deities *paint* forms an important feature. *Scarlet* or *red* is the religious color for sacrifices, whilst *blue* is used by the women in many of the ceremonies in which they participate. This, however, is not a constant distinction of sex—for the women frequently use red and scarlet. The use of paints, the Dakotas aver, was taught

* The placing of dead bodies on scaffolds—a temporary preservation of them—seems to have the same object in view, as far as their mode of life admits of it. Acquaintance with the Dakotas shows that they have an hereditary and universal opposition to burying their dead under ground until it is absolutely necessary, from the rapidity of decay, to do so.

them by the gods. *Unktehi* taught the first medicine men how to paint themselves when they worshipped him, and what colors to use. *Takushkanshkan* (the Moving God) whispers to his favorites what colors are most acceptable to him. Heyoka hovers over them in dreams, and informs them how many streaks to employ upon their bodies, and the tinge they must have. No ceremony of worship is complete without the *wakan* or sacred application of paint. The down of the female swan is colored scarlet, and forms a necessary part of sacrifices.

The *tunkan* is painted red, as a sign of active worship,* and the Dakota brave is never more particular in the choice of paints which may please his deities than when upon the war path.

There are no set seasons or times of worship. Each Dakota prays to his gods or makes sacrifices to them at such times and in such places as he deems best. In most cases, circumstances call forth his active religion, which otherwise lies dormant. Dreams are a main source. A brave dreams repeatedly or vividly of the sun, and straightway he conceives it to be his duty to worship that luminary by a Sun Dance. Death makes its appearance in a family, and immediately the Dakota must propitiate the spirits of darkness by fasting and sacrifice. The wants of the Indian, also, are a prime source of his active religion. One wishes to be successful in stealing horses or upon the war path, and falls to begging the assistance of the deities by self-sacrifice, preceded by fasting, penance, and purification.

That there was a time with them when all these radical

* Speaking of the modern Hindoo temples of worship, Bayard Taylor says: "Some of the figures have been recently smeared with *red paint*, a sign that they are still worshipped by some of the Hindoo sects."

—*India, China, and Japan, Chapter III.*

forms of religion had a positive, and not a negative, existence, were active and constant instead of latent and only called out by circumstances, there can be no good grounds for doubting. The internal proofs are too strong to admit of doubt. At the present day, though the religious sentiment among them is potent in the chase, the dances, the games, and upon the war path, the last-named alone, probably, develops it in its true force. The dangerous positions they may at any moment be forced into, the gloomy forest and the lonely prairie, the strange country and the approaching conflict, all combine to cast a dark shade over them, favorable to active religion. At other times circumstances, alone, call them to their rites and ceremonies.

It is remarkable that the idea of purification should be so deeply rooted in the mind of the Dakota. It is as strong in them as it was in the ancient Hebrews. Their entire religion is pervaded with it. In all sacred ceremonies, where fire is used, they kindle anew, for purification, with flint and steel, or by friction. The body, too, must be prepared for interview with deity; and for a Dakota to commence any religious ceremony without having first purified himself by the inipi, or steam bath, and by fasting, would be the height of iniquity. They appear, indeed, to approach sacred things with the same awe that the ancient Jews experienced coming near the chamber of the Holy of Holies; and the injunction, "Take off thy sandals—this is holy ground," seems ever before them.

The idea of *evil*, also, seemes to be deeply rooted in their minds. It pervades all their opinions, sentiments, and beliefs. It may asked, from whence did it spring? The solution (if it would be wise to venture a solution) would apparently take us back to a time when they possessed a religion purer than that which their present forms exhibit.

No other inference is left us. To use Dr. Paley's old figure —if a person finds a broken watch, he does not abuse his reason by imagining that it was always so. Debasement pre-supposes at least comparative purity. What, then, is the case with the religion of the Dakotas? We find two principles pervading it all, the one of good, and the other of evil. The principle of good has been uncultivated until it has become so far debased that the name of God even has lost its original use, and is employed as a form of address among them; while the principle of evil has been cultivated and extended until it pervades all their philosophy, and enters even into the commonest phases of their life. Good is always negative, whilst evil is always positive. I can name no divinity of Good among the Dakotas except the Wakan Tanka, or *Great Spirit*. None of their other deities are represented as possessing even negative good. If this, then, be so, the conclusion may be drawn that the Dakotas originally believed in *one God;* but that the evil principle, which was ever present with them, and of the existence of which they had daily evidence among themselves, as they supposed, in disease, sorrow, and death, was the origin of that plurality of evil divinities which is found among them, perpetuated, perhaps, by the traditions which they originally brought with them from the parent stem.

Summing up the religion of the Dakotas, we find *Pantheism* is the great base upon which it stands, and two radical forms connected with it in the *worship of the sun*, and Hanmdepi or *God-seeking*. All their other religious customs and dances are mere *forms* of worship.

At the root of all these forms, stand two prominent ideas —*purification* and *sacrifice*, and from them is built up the whole external structure.

Constructed, then, Dakota religion stands thus:—

Main Base.

PANTHEISM.

Derivative Bases.

WIWANYAG WACIPI, or SUN WORSHIP.

HANMDEPI, or GOD-SEEKING.

Base Forms.

PURIFICATION.

SACRIFICE.

These constitute the whole religion of the Dakotas.

It will be observed that I have paid no attention whatever to the Medicine Dance, the Circle Dance, or the Brave Dance in this analytic view of the Dakota theology. As a part of the *present* religious ceremonies of the Winnebagoes, eastern Sioux, and a few other Dakotas, these dances are, perhaps, worthy of consideration; but, as they are *intrusive forms*, they cannot be considered as entering into the radical and native, as well as prevailing, religion of the race. An analysis of the religion of the Medicine and Circle Dances, belongs properly to a history of the nation and race to which those dances are clearly traceable; and the Brave Dance forms but a very inconsiderable fraction of the religion of the Dakotas. Neither does it contain any other ideas, or even forms of worship than those embraced in the table just given.

Nor have I found, in observing the religious ceremonies of the Dakotas, that the Medicine Dance exercises that powerful influence over this people which some have ascribed to it. In cases of extremity, I have ever noticed that they appeal to their *Tunkan* (Stone God), first and last, and they do this even after the ceremonies of the Medicine Dance

have been gone through with. All Sioux agree in saying that the *Tunkan* is the main recipient of their prayers; and among the Titons, Mandans, Ihanktons and Western Dakotas, they pray to that and the spirit of the buffalo almost entirely.

MINERAL REGIONS OF LAKE SUPERIOR.

AS KNOWN FROM THEIR FIRST DISCOVERY TO 1865.

BY HON. H. M. RICE, OF SAINT PAUL.

One hundred and twenty-one years ago there were found, north of Lake Superior, several "large lumps of the finest virgin copper." The finder wrote: "In the honest exultation of my heart at so important a discovery, I directly showed it to the company (Hudson's Bay Company), but the thanks I met with may be easily judged from the system of their conduct. The fact, without any inquiry into the reality of it, was treated as a chimerical illusion, and a stop arbitrarily put to all further search into the matter, by the absolute lords of the soil."

The first attempt made to obtain copper from the Lake Superior region was by a company of adventurers from England, soon after the conquest of Canada, "but the distracted state of affairs in America obliged them to relinquish their scheme." The next effort was made in 1771, by a company who petitioned for, and obtained, a charter from the British government. The partners, in England, were His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, Mr. Secretary Townsend, Sir Samuel Tutchet, baro-

net; Mr. Baxter, consul of the Empress of Russia, and Mr. Cruickshank; in America, Sir William Johnson, baronet, Mr. Bostwick, Mr. Baxter and Alexander Henry.

"In 1770 (says Henry), Mr. Baxter, who had sailed for England, returned, bringing with him papers by which, with Mr. Bostwick and himself, I was constituted a joint agent and partner, in, and for, a company of adventurers for working the mines of Lake Superior. We passed the winter together at the Sault de Sainte Marie, and built a barge, fit for the navigation of the lake; at the same time laying the keel of a sloop of forty tons. Early in May, 1771, the lake becoming navigable, we departed from Point aux Pins, our shipyard, at which there is a safe harbor, and of which the distance from the Sault is three leagues. We sailed for the Island of Yellow Sands, promising ourselves to make our fortunes, in defiance of its serpents." After coasting about for five days they returned to Point aux Pins, where they erected an air furnace. The assayer made a report on the ores which had been collected, stating that the lead ore contained silver in the proportion of forty ounces to a ton, "but the copper ore, only in very small proportions indeed." Facts developed by recent explorations go far to show that the day is not far distant when the silver mines of Lake Superior will rank among the the most prolific in the world.

Soon after testing the ores at Point aux Pins, the expedition coasted westward for the mouth of the Ontonagon river. Henry says: "Proposing to ourselves to make a trial on the hill, till we were better able to go to work upon the solid rock, we built a house, and sent to the Sault de Sainte Marie for provisions. At the spot pitched upon for the commencement of our operrations, a green colored water which tinged iron of a copper color, issued from the hill, and this the miners called a leader. Having ar-

ranged everything for the miners during the winter, we returned to the Sault. Early in the spring of 1772, we sent a boat load of provisions; but it came back on the twentieth day of June, bringing with it, to our surprise, the whole establishment of miners. They reported that in the course of the winter they had penetrated forty feet in the hill; but, that on the arrival of the thaw, the clay on which, on account of its stiffness, they relied, and neglected to secure it by supporters, had fallen in; that to recommence their search would be attended with much labor and cost; that from the detached masses of metal which, to the last, had daily presented themselves, they supposed there might be, ultimately, reached some body of the same, but could form no conjecture of its distance." They concluded that the work would require more men than could be fed; and their operations in that quarter ended.

A little over eighty-two years ago, the independence of the United States was acknowledged by Great Britain, in a treaty at Paris, in which the boundaries were agreed upon. By reference to that instrument, it will be observed that the northern line, after striking the river St. Lawrence, follows up that stream to the Great Lakes, thence through the middle of the same, and their connecting rivers, to Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior, *northward* of the Isles Royal and Phillipeau, to the long Lake, now known as Pigeon river; thus securing to what is now Minnesota about one hundred and fifty miles of the north shore of that inland sea, and believed to contain the richest copper and silver deposits known in the world. Benjamin Franklin was one of the commissioners to the treaty. It is supposed that he obtained information in France of the richness of that region; and, to his great foresight, we are mostly indebted for that

valuable acquisition. In fact, he wrote that the time would come when the American people would consider the part he took in securing that vast mineral region to them, as one of the greatest acts of his life. Seventy-five years after the death of that great and good man, the people of Minnesota are about to realize the importance of the vast interest secured by that far-seeing statesman.

On the fifth day of August, 1826, Lewis Cass and Thomas L. McKenney, commissioners on the part of the United States, made and concluded a treaty with the Chippewa Indians at Fond du Lac, Lake Superior, by which the Chippewas granted to the United States the right to search for, and carry away, any metals or minerals from any part of their country. No efforts under this grant were ever made; but from that period (and even before) explorations, from time to time, were made by individuals; and many indications of rich mines (now within the limits of Minnesota) were discovered. Licenses to trade with the Indians were obtained — buildings for the ostensible purpose of trade were erected, and possession maintained for many years, in hopes the government would extinguish the Indian title to the land, so that individual titles might be acquired. Time and expense caused the abandonment of most of these points, and a consequent dissipation of the bright visions raised by the knowledge of the wealth which was beyond the reach of the discoverers.

Under the old permit system, many locations, three miles square, were made on Lake Superior; several on and near the Montreal river; some on Bad river, south of La Pointe; three on the mainland, opposite La Pointe; two or three were made near Superior City, on the Nemadji, or Left Hand river, and one settler's claim about twenty miles north of Superior. Several locations were

made in the valley of the St. Croix river; explorations, to a limited extent, and recent developments, give great hopes that the Falls of the St. Croix may, at no distant day, compete with some of the towns of Lake Superior in the shipment of copper. Two of the mines south of Superior are being worked, both giving assurances that success will amply reward those engaged in the work. Last year a New York company was formed for the purpose of working one of the locations on Bad river. The work was commenced, and has been vigorously prosecuted with flattering prospects. On the thirtieth of September, 1854, the Chippewa Indians, by a treaty made at La Pointe, ceded all their lands on the north shore of Lake Superior to the United States; thus removing all obstructions to the development of the rich mines within the limits of Minnesota. In the same year an association was formed by gentlemen residing in this state and Ohio, for the purpose of securing a title to several well known locations within the country ceded, which purpose they accomplished some four or five years afterward. The association was known under the name of R. B. Carlton & Co. On the twenty-eighth day of September, 1858, a meeting of the persons composing the association was held in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, and, among others, the following actions were taken:

WHEREAS, on the twenty-fifth of September, 1854, a portion of the undersigned entered into an agreement for the purpose of obtaining mineral locations and lands in what is now the State of Minnesota, which association was known by the name of R. B. Carlton & Co.; and WHEREAS, certain lands and locations have been secured under said agreement, the legal and equitable titles of which are held in the individual name or names of some of the undersigned, or some other person or persons, but in trust for the said association; and WHEREAS, the title to other lands is in process of being secured, which, when secured, will be in the individual name or names of some of the undersigned, or some other person, but for the use of the undersigned; and WHEREAS, it is

contemplated that other lands and mines may be procured or required; and WHEREAS, the interests of the parties to said original agreement have been by assignment transferred with the assent of all the parties thereto and hereto, so that all the lands, mines, and benefits, secured or attempted to be secured, under and by virtue of original agreement.

And this agreement shall be divided into eighty shares or parts, and are now owned and held as follows, to-wit:

John H. Watrous, two shares, equal to 2-80ths.
Reuben B. Carlton, eight shares, equal to 8-80ths.
Josiah Tallmadge, four shares, equal to 4-80ths.
Joseph W. Lynde, six shares, equal to 6-80ths.
George E. Nettleton, four shares, equal to 4-80ths.
William H. Newton, four shares, equal to 4-80ths.
Edwin A. C. Hatch, eight shares, equal to 8-80ths.
John T. Newton, two shares, equal to 2-80ths.
Henry B. Payne, three shares, equal to 3-80ths.
H. J. Jewett, six shares, equal to 6-80ths.
Paine & Wade, three shares, equal to 3-80ths.
Julien A. H. Hasbrouck, six shares, equal to 6-80ths.
James B. Beck, four shares, equal to 4-80ths.
Charles E. Rittenhouse, four shares, equal to 4-80ths.
Joel D. Cruttenden, four shares, equal to 4-80ths.
Nathan Myrick, four shares, equal to 4-80ths.

Trustees herein mentioned for the use and purpose herein expressed, eight shares, equal to 8-80ths.

Now, it is agreed and stipulated by all the parties hereto, as follows, to-wit: That all the lands, mineral localities and property of every kind and description, which has already been, and all which shall hereafter be secured, under or in pursuance of said first mentioned agreement, and this agreement, shall be conveyed to Henry B. Payne, Robert F. Payne, and Edwin A. C. Hatch, to be held by them, the survivor and survivors of them, who shall hold the legal title of the same, in trust for the uses and purposes, and upon the terms and conditions herein expressed, and for no other purpose, conditions or terms, and with all the powers, authorities and privileges herein expressed.

Hon. Henry B. Payne, of Cleveland, was appointed president, and Jas. Wade, Jr., secretary. Certificates of stock were issued. The meeting of the stockholders was called by the trustees, and held at Bayfield, Wis., July 27, 1863, which meeting adjourned to Duluth, Minn., where

it convened, July 31, 1863; and on the third of the next month, August, on motion of R. F. Payne, it was unanimously resolved, that they proceed to organize two companies under the laws of Minnesota. Hon. Geo. L. Becker presented drafts of articles of association for a corporation to be known as The North Shore Mining Company; and, also, another corporation to be known as The French River Mining Company, which were approved, acknowledged by the corporators, and ordered to be placed on record as required by law. The capital stock in each company was $100,000, divided in 2,000 shares of $50 each. The first meeting of the corporators and stockholders of each of said new companies was held in Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 2, 1863, at which meeting the "French River Mining Company" and the "North Shore Mining Company" were organized by the election of boards of five directors each—three residents of Ohio, one of the city of New York, and one of the State of Minnesota. The directors organized by appointing Hon. Henry B. Payne, president, and James Wade, Jr., secretary and treasurer. The trustees of the Carlton & Co. association conveyed to the "French River Mining Company" the southwest quarter, and lots Nos. 3 and 4 of section No. 17, in town 51 north, of range 12, west, in Saint Louis county, Minnesota, containing 165 16-100 acres. The trustees conveyed to the "North Shore Mining Company" the southeast quarter of section 25, town 52, range 12, west, in same county. During the year 1864, a shaft was sunk by the North Shore Company, to the depth of 20 feet, and by the French River Company, 40 feet—both giving indications of valuable results.

At a meeting of the stockholders, held on the sixth of July, 1884, Gen. A. S. Sanford, of Cleveland, was chosen president, in place of H. B. Payne, resigned, but who still remains as one of the directors. The French River Com-

pany sent up men, tools, and supplies sufficient to prosecute the work, day and night, during the winter. The work is in charge of Frank Salisbury, who is sinking a shaft one hundred and fifty feet from the old one, with the intention of drifting from one to the other. I have, perhaps, gone too much into detail; but if the anticipations of those who have given this subject much attention shall be realized, the silent operations and large expenditures that have been made will, hereafter, render any facts connected with the first developments of the mineral wealth of Minnesota, interesting in the future. But a few years ago, those engaged in developing the copper mines on Lake Superior, within the State of Michigan, were looked upon as visionary speculators. The completion of the Sault Ste. Marie canal gave such facilities as enabled them to draw capital from all parts of the United States and to convince the most skeptical that the basin of that vast inland sea contained untold wealth. Of the many mines in successful operation, a single one, the Quincy, yielded, the past season, 3,102,532 pounds, or 1,551 tons, 532 pounds of copper, worth $1,500,000. When we have communication by railroad to the head of lake navigation, the most skeptical can not overrate the mineral wealth that will be developed, nor the commercial advantages that will inure to the state—enriching and infusing new life into every city, town, and hamlet.

St. Paul, 1867.

CONSTANTINE BELTRAMI.

BY A. J. HILL, OF SAINT PAUL.

§ 1. INTRODUCTORY.

Though narratives of the fortunes of early explorers of a country can not, in general, throw any light upon its history, apart from their travels in the region itself, yet such recitals or biographies may still be useful in enabling us to form juster opinions of the accounts given by the travelers of their discoveries, from the knowledge afforded as to character, attainments, and position.

Of the subject of this article, till within a few years, nothing was known to us Minnesotians, beyond the little to be gleaned from his own books of travel and from the narrative of the expedition of Maj. Long; and even these works are so out of date that the name of Beltrami is unfamiliar to our ears. His life is like the bridge in the vision of Mirza,—we see but the middle of it,—the beginning and end are hid in obscurity. The recent publication, in Italy, of biographical notices of this traveler, has furnished the means of supplying the deficiency of information concerning him; and at the request of the Historical Society of Minnesota, the present memoir has been compiled, as a fitting contribution to its "Collections."

§ 2. PUBLISHED KNOWLEDGE OF BELTRAMI BEFORE HIS DEATH.

No doubt, at the time our traveler visited the United States, more or less was said concerning him in the journals of the day; and that he was violently assailed by writers of that time, is shown in his own books; but such accounts, appearing in fleeting papers, are now entirely inaccessible, and indeed would be of but little interest or value if they could be found.

Hitherto, therefore, our knowledge of Beltrami was derived from three books only, which were:

1. A work, published by himself at New Orleans in 1824, entitled "La Decouverte des Sources du Mississippi et de la Riviere Sanglante," one volume, 8vo., pp. 328. 2. "Keating's Narrative of Long's Expedition to the Sources of the Saint Peter's River, etc.," Philadelphia, 1824; and 3. "A Pilgrimage in Europe and America, leading to the Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi and Bloody River, with a description of the whole course of the former, and of the Ohio. By J. C. Beltrami, Esq., formerly judge of a royal court in the ex-kingdom of Italy." London, 1828; 2 volumes, 8vo., pp. 1093.

The first of these is a narrative simply of his tour in the West, from Pittsburgh to the headwaters of the Mississippi, and thence to New Orleans, written in French, and in the form of letters addressed to a friend, the Countess *Compagnoni*, born *Passeri*. Maj. Long's book contains but one or two references to Beltrami, and those of a depreciating character. The exact nature of the disagreement between the two gentlemen is not known, nor would it be right to exhume and display it, if it could be done. All familiar with the history of "expeditions" must have noticed how often coolness or rupture have occurred between leading men of such parties, arising from arro-

gance, jealousy, or incompatibility of temper. The "Pilgrimage" of Beltrami gives an account of his European travels previous to his coming to the United States, and then embodies his former work, which he seems merely to have translated into English, without other alterations than a few verbal changes.

A synopsis of the personal history found in the above works is as follows:

He had been an official of the ex-kingdom of Italy, and was sent into exile without trial,— traveled in France, Germany, and England, in 1821–2,— went to the United States in 1823, and descended the Ohio river to its mouth; thence, in company with Maj. Taliaferro, embarked for the Upper Mississippi — reached Fort Saint Anthony (Snelling) May 20, 1823, whence he had expected to accompany Maj. T. up the river Saint Peter — at that time unexplored — with the intention of proceeding further, toward the sources of the Mississippi, also unknown. But circumstances did not admit of that, and he was on the point of changing his direction for the south, by traversing, by land, the wild tracts lying between the Fort and Council Bluffs, when Maj. Long and his party unexpectedly arrived. He accompanied this expedition, which left the Fort on the seventh of July, as far as Pembina, where he quitted it on the ninth of August, and with a *bois brule* and the two Chippewas only, for companions, plunged into the wilderness lying to the southeast, and struck "Robber's" (Thief) river near its confluence with Red Lake river (which he calls "Bloody river," and insists that it is the true Red river). He then followed the course of the latter stream to Red lake, whence, after visiting its south shore, he ascended the river of the Grand Portage to its sources at a small lake on a hill where he arrived on the twenty-eighth, and which, on "the theory of the ancient geogra-

phers, that the sources of a river which are most in a right line with its mouth should be considered as its principal sources, and particularly when they issue from a cardinal point and flow to the one directly opposite," he maintained to be the head of the Red River of the North. This lake he also described as supplying the most northern sources of the Mississippi; and on that ground, and also that they had been previously unknown, rested his claims as a geographical discoverer. He named the lake "Julia," from a dear friend of his, deceased [Moroni says, "after the woman of his heart"], and the stream issuing southwardly from it, the "Julian sources of the Mississippi." The present Itasca lake he referred to as called by the Indians "Bitch lake" (Lac la Biche—"Elk" lake), and as being most probably the "western sources of the Mississippi*." After ascending Leech Lake river, and visiting the lake itself, he returned by the Mississippi to the Fort (Fort Snelling), arriving there the thirtieth of September, and thence descended to New Orleans, where, in the spring of 1824, he published the French account of his travels.

He now disappears from our view.

§ 3. BIOGRAPHICAL FACTS FROM RECENT ITALIAN SOURCES.

Gabriele Rosa, of Bergamo, Lombardy, an author of note, furnished to the *Review* of Venice (Revista Veneta) a couple of papers on this traveler, which appeared April 20 and 27, 1856, and were reprinted, at Bergamo, in 1861, under the title "Of the Life and Writings of Constantine Beltrami of Bergamo, Discoverer of the Sources of the Mississippi" (Della vita e degli scritti di Costantino Beltrami da Bergamo, scopritore delle fonti del Mississippi), a pamphlet of thirty-four pages octavo. On being applied

* See hydrographical discussion by Col. Whittlesey, appended to this memoir.

to, through the post, the author courteously sent several copies of his little work to the United States — to the writer of this paper — besides furnishing, in his letters, information in reply to inquiries.

In consequence of this correspondence, which took place in 1863-4, the municipality of the same city formed the plan of publishing, and dedicating to the Historical Society of Minnesota, a work which should be a proper memorial of him who was their countryman and so deserving of honor. This book was brought out in the beginning of 1865, and is entitled "Costantino Beltrami da Bergamo — Notizie e lettere pubblicate per cura del municipio di Bergamo e dedicate alla societa storica di Minnesota." It is a small but handsome quarto of one hundred and thirty-four pages and contains: 1. As a frontispiece, a photograph from the full length portrait of Beltrami, painted by Prof. Enrico Scuri, and presented to the public. 2. An elegant dedicatory preface, addressed to the society, and signed by the members of the city council. 3. The papers of Signore Rosa, before mentioned. 4. A lecture on the same subject as the preceding, delivered by Count Pietro Moroni, in 1856, before the Athenæum of Bergamo, and 5. Letters from Chateaubriand and other eminent men, addressed to him, also one from his own pen.

From these sources our knowledge of Beltrami has been perfected, and the facts so obtained are now given — mostly in the form of a close translation.

J. C. Beltrami (Giacomo Costantino B.) was born at Bergamo, in 1779, his parents being Giambattista Beltrami of that city, and Catterina Carozzi of Pontita. His father was a man of fine presence, and of note from his position as custom house officer of the Venetian republic, and also by reason of his courteous manners. There

were ten children, of whom our hero, Constantine, was the youngest. It appears that there was a tradition in the family of its being derived from *Beltrand des Goths*, who fled from Paris at the time of Saint Bartholomew in 1572, and took refuge at Bergamo under the sheltering wing of the Venetian republic—model in those times of political and religious toleration. Constantine was bred to the law; and although he possessed a restless spirit, desirous of adventure, and that when he was just ten years old the great public commotions that afterward shook all Europe were beginning, yet his natural talent prompted him to the acquisition of the Latin and Greek literature, to which afterward, from his experience in public affairs, was added a rich store of geographical knowledge, and, finally, a familiarity with the modern languages. The courage and adventurous will that shone in him at forty-four impelled him, in his youthful vigor, to abandon the paternal house for military affairs; and being brought to the notice of men high in office, friends of the family, and shortly opening the way by his own abilities, he became vice inspector of the armies; but, disgusted with occupations so far below his higher aspirations, he returned to civil pursuits. At the age of twenty-eight, in 1807, he became chancellor of the French departments of the Stura and the Tanaro, and soon after judge of the court at Udine. There, by his fine intellect and untiring zeal, he gained the praises of his superiors, who testified to him their high satisfaction, as appears by many of their letters. Such expressions of approval were confirmed by his appointment as judge of the civil and criminal court of Macerata. In 1812, being afflicted with a severe disease, and having received permission, he left his post for a time, and visited Florence, where he formed relations with the Duke of Monteleone, and with the Countess

of Albany,—the friend of Alfieri and Foscolo,—who afterward, in time of danger, protected him by her counsels and influence. For the extraordinary activity shown by him in certain important matters, the supreme judge, minister of justice, in a letter addressed to him in 1813, praised his zeal and acquirements, prophesying his promotion to the chair of the president of the court of Forli, for which the prince viceroy had proposed him for the imperial sanction of France. However, the cloud that shortly rose and darkened the political horizon of the empire, and of the Italian kingdom, hindered any further transmission of names. From Florence he was hurriedly recalled by Poerio, at that time minister extraordinary of the King of the Two Sicilies, for the Southern Italian departments. When the Austrians occupied the Marches, he retired to his estates at Filotrano, not far from Macerata, whence, from 1816 to 1819, he made excursions to Naples, Rome and Florence. It appears that in some way he became involved in carbonarism; for in 1821, although sick, and hardly able to stand upon his feet, he had to leave the Romagna and go into exile.

Immediately after his travels in the region of the Upper Mississippi, he embarked at New Orleans, in 1824, for Mexico, and traversed that country from ocean to ocean. He returned from the United States to London in 1826 or 1827. The revolution of July called him to Paris, where we soon find him in amicable epistolary relations with the Count d'Apony, the Austrian embassador, to whom in a letter written on the tenth of August, 1830, a few days after the revolution, he offered his services towards ameliorating the condition of his native country. At the same time, he carried on a correspondence with Benjamin Constant, with Lafayette and Lafitte. He participated in the theories of the Napoleonists of his time, and aspired

for the elevation of the nations, and especially for that of Italy. In 1834, the Scientific Congress at Stuttgard being in session, Beltrami was sent to it to represent the Historical Institute of France, accredited therefor by the perpetual secretary, Mons. de Monglave, who did not hesitate to style him one of the most honorable and distinguished of that scientific association. Shortly after, he went to Heidelberg, where he acquired a small landed estate which he lived on for two years. In 1837 we find him at Vienna; then, shortly, at Rome, and so — now here, now there — he lived till 1850, when, finding himself bowed down by the weight of years, he returned to his property at Filotrano, where, amongst his early friends, he placidly passed the remainder of life, and where, in February, 1855, he died, having completed his seventy-fifth year.

Beltrami was a man of frank and sincere soul — an enemy of all flattery, and capable of unparalleled self-denial. In proof of the latter it is related that although he suspected that the cases of articles sent him from America had been opened and plundered on their arrival at Florence, yet, to avoid the bitterness of certainty of the fact, he would never consent to their being examined during his lifetime, desiring that it should only be done by his heirs,—as so happened.

In the desire to be more generally read, he wrote everything in foreign languages, for which indeed he can hardly be blamed, having to print his works out of Italy. A complete list of his published writings is as follows:

1. *Deux mots sur des promenades de Paris et Liverpool.* Philad'a, 1823.

2. *Le Decouverte des Sources du Mississippi, etc.* New Orleans, 1824. (Previously mentioned.)

3. *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America, etc.* London, 1828. (Previously mentioned.)

4. *Le Mexique.* 2 vols., 8vo. Paris, 1830.
5. *L'Italie et L'Europe.* Paris, 1834.
6. *Letter to the Secretary of the Historical Institute of France* (in French). Heidelberg, 1836. (Reprinted in the Bergamo city memorial.)

The Indian curiosities and other articles brought by Beltrami to his native country from the region of our present Minnesota, together with his manuscript papers etc., were presented by his heir, a nephew, shortly after his death, to the library of Bergamo, the municipality of which city caused them to be properly displayed in the vestibule of the building. Signore Rosa, his chief eulogist, says, in a private letter, that there is no genuine portrait of him extant; the one by Prof. Scuri being drawn from the engraving in the "Pilgrimage," and from tradition.

§ 4. REMINISCENCES OF MAJ. TALIAFERRO.

Maj. Lawrence Taliaferro, of Beaufort, Penn., a soldier of 1812, who from the year 1819 to 1840, acted as agent for Indian Affairs for the tribes of the Northwest, and who yet lives in the memories of the Sioux, to whom he was known as *Mahza Bakah* or Iron Cutter, furnished, under date of the fourth of April, 1866, the following information concerning his friend Beltrami:

"I was in Washington in 1823 relative to my official connection with the northwestern tribes of Minnesota; whilst on my return, in March, to my post, I found a note, or card, at a hotel in Pittsburgh, from Beltrami, asking permission to bear me company to the Falls of St. Anthony. When I saw him, his presence and manner at once obtained my confidence, and leave was granted to do so. We passed together down the Ohio, and up the Mississippi to Fort Snelling. I divided my quarters with

him; and Col. Snelling and lady invited him to take his meals at their hospital table.

"Beltrami was six feet high, of commanding appearance and some forty-five years of age; proud of bearing, and quick of temper, high spirited, but always the gentleman. He expressed an earnest wish to explore the sources of the Mississippi. I gave him a passport to go where he pleased, and instructed the Chippewas of Otter Tail, and other lakes, to see him safely through their country, should he seek assistance. Shortly after this desire, Maj. Long, of the Topographical Engineers, with his corps, arrived. Beltrami was introduced to Maj. L. and permission granted Mr. B. to accompany the party to Pembina. At Pembina, a difficulty occurred between Maj. Long and Beltrami, when the latter sold his horse (my horse) and equipments, and in company with a half-breed, passed near the line of 49° to the sources of the Mississippi. His sufferings were of no agreeable nature. Here, near Leech lake, he fell in with a sub-chief, the 'Cloudy Weather,' most fortunately, who knew Mr. B., having seen him in one of my councils at the agency. This old man was given, by signs, to know that white man wanted to descend the river. The chief took our Italian friend in his canoe, and turned down stream. Indians are proverbially slow, hunting and fishing on the way; Beltrami lost all patience—abused his Indian crew,—made many menaces, etc. The 'Cloud' tapped him on the hat with his pipe stem, as much as to say,'I will take you to my father safe if you will be still.' The old chief told of this temper of my friend, but Mr. B. never made allusion to it, but was very grateful to his kind Pillager friends.

"Beltrami had been in the military service; was judge of a court. I touched him at times with the appellation of count; 'Who is your dear countess to whom you ad-

dress many affectionate letters?' 'Not my wife,' said he; 'but a lovely woman; and if you would replace the G in your name, [Tagliaferro], and come with me to Italy,—the home of your ancestors,—I would make you happy in her company.'

"That the tour of Mr. B. was not altogether abortive I have full reason to believe. He explained by his notes to me his whole route, put the discovery of the true sources correctly, as others have since done,—including the distinguished Nicollet. To learn the habits of the Indian tribes was almost a mania with him. He had every facility; his greatest anxiety was, before he left Italy, as he stated to me, to explore the wildest portion of the continent, North and West,—to see as many of the noble North American Indians as possible. He seemed fond of adventure. I saw he was dispirited for the lack of means; he did not deny it when questioned delicately on this point.

"In conversing of Italy and Italian affairs, he hesitated not to speak very broadly about the highest ecclesiastical dignitary, touching whom he often lost his patience. Beltrami was a patriot, and undoubtedly of note, and had suffered persecution."

§ 5. CONCLUSION.

No further direct information concerning Beltrami, personally, can be added to the preceeding; and enough undoubtedly has been said to fill the blank hitherto existing, and to place him properly before the people of Minnesota, to the majority of whom his name is totally unknown. There remains, however, to supplement this monograph, one more task to be performed, at some future time, when the territory he independently explored

shall have been surveyed and mapped by the deputies of the general land office, and that is, the examination and verification of the route traveled by him, and of the lakes and rivers he visited, in order to restore and bring into popular use, so far as practicable, the names he gave to many places; though he named only certain lakes, streams and islands, hitherto undistinguished.

The legislature, last winter, at the instance of the State Historical Society, and in conformity with the custom of naming some of the counties of a territory or state after its early explorers, established a county by the name of Beltrami; which extends from the first "range line" below the mouth of Turtle river, on the east, to the line between ranges 38 and 39 on the west, and from the line between townships 154 and 155 on the north to the north line of Becker county, and to the Mississippi on the south. This county comprehends the region of the head of "Bloody river," etc., and is in area about 4,000 square miles — subject to reduction and modification of boundary it is true; but, it is to be hoped, always to retain the same name, and to include the "Julian Sources of the Mississippi" within its limits. Of this act of legislation, his friend, Maj. Taliaferro says, "It is a high compliment;— one well deserved, and creditable to the movers and state;" and all lovers of justice who read Beltrami's own words will rejoice that his claims have at last been officially recognized.

In reference to the opportunity he had of perpetuating his own name in the Indian territory by giving it an archipelago, as he terms it, of the Mississippi — the present "Thousand Isles," situated a mile or two below St. Cloud, — he wrote: "After my death, men will dispose of my name as God will of my soul, according as I shall have well or ill deserved during my life; and I leave to my friends,

and to those who have had opportunities of becoming acquainted with my heart, the charge of defending my memory, should it ever be attacked by injustice or prejudice."

APPENDIX.

HYDROGRAPHY OF THE SOURCES OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

In reference to the question as to which stream we should look to for the right source of the Mississippi, the following article has been prepared by Col. Charles Whittlesey — a man well known to the reading public, not only by his explorations and contributions to the stock of knowledge concerning the geology and physical geography of the Northwest, but by his writings on the earthworks and other relics of the aboriginal inhabitants of the same region:

"CLEVELAND, O., March 28, 1866.

"Turtle Lake, at the head of Turtle river, which discharges into Cass lake, is the most northerly of the waters of the Mississippi. Mr. Schoolcraft claims that Itasca lake and its tributaries constitutes the true source of the Great river, because these streams are further from the mouth than any other. Whether this, if true, is a correct mode of fixing the headwaters of rivers, I must be allowed to doubt. It seems to me that the *largest* branch forms the river, and the heads of that branch constitute the sources.

"When I was on the upper waters of the Mississippi, in September, 1848, I compared the quantity of water flowing from Lake Winnebigoshish with that from Leech lake, as far as observations without gauging, enabled me to do it. At that time I judged the discharge from the

Leech Lake branch to be three times as much as from Lake Winnibigoshish, and one of our *voyageurs*, who was raised in the region, said it generally discharged twice as much. The distance from the junction of the Leech Lake branch, below Winnibigoshish, to the most distant sources of the various branches, does not appear to me to be materially different. Among the hundreds of small streams converging into, and passing through nearly as many lakes, there can not be said to be a main or separate river above this junction. From this point, the Mississippi assumes its proper characteristics, as one stream, to the Gulf of Mexico; but above it the branches are excessively numerous. Below the junction, it is two chains wide, with a broad, regular current, having the same imposing features which it retains to its mouth. The furthest streams that discharge into Leech lake rise to the south, interlocking with the waters of Pine river; but, if we can rely upon our maps,— of a region as yet unsurveyed,— the development of these branches, including the lakes through which they pass, equals in length the Itasca branch.

"Our missionaries at Cass lake said the Turtle river discharged more water than Bemidji river, which enters Cass lake from Itasca lake."

St. Paul, 1867.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE UNITED STATES LAND OFFICE.

[BY HON. H. M. RICE, OF SAINT PAUL.]

On the twenty-sixth day of January, 1796, when the American Congress was in session in Philadelphia, a bill was reported for establishing land offices for the sale of lands in the Northwestern Territory. It was under discussion until April of the same year in the house of representatives. A great diversity of opinion existed; some were in favor of selling in small tracts of fifty acres—others contended that none should be surveyed or sold in less than township tracts. Some favored a bill that would retain the lands for actual settlers, others were for disposing of as much of the public domain as possible, and at the highest price, for the purpose of paying the public debt. For a long time they could not agree upon the price. Mr. Williams, of New York, said "It was necessary that the country should be settled, as that the land should be sold. Or shall it be that the honest, industrious settlers shall make roads, bridges, and other improvements, whilst the rich holders keep their lands in hand until these improvements are made, in order to increase the value of them?" Mr. Williams, undoubtedly, took a correct view of the case. The bill, as finally agreed upon, established the office of surveyor general under the following title: "*An Act providing for the sale of the lands of the United States, in the territory northwest of the*

river Ohio, and above the mouth of Kentucky river." On the eighteenth of May, 1796, the bill was approved by receiving the signature of George Washington. The office was first opened at Marietta, Ohio, under Rufus Putnam, surveyor general. In 1804 it was removed to Vincennes; in 1805 to Cincinnati; in 1814 to Chillicothe; in 1829 it was removed back to Cincinnati, where it remained until 1845, when it was removed to Detroit. In May, 1857, the office was again, and for the last time, removed to Saint Paul. It now has in its custody the original correspondence for its establishment in 1796, which undoubtedly, contains many important facts and reminiscences that would not only pay for their perusal, but might furnish historical points of great value. Through it the past and present are connected. There can be found the workings under the original act under which no lands could be surveyed in tracts of less than six hundred and forty acres, nor sold for less than two dollars per acre; and out of this has grown our admirable system, which places within the reach of every man a home, be he rich, or be he poor.

NOTES TO THE FOREGOING.

The issue of a second edition of this part of our collections, gives an opportunity to add some notes to Mr. Rice's valuable paper, giving a more extended account of the history of the surveyor general's office referred to in it. I have been able, from the records of the office, and other materials, to compile the following lists of surveyors general and chief clerks, from the time of the establishment of the office in 1796 to the present date:

SURVEYORS GENERAL.

1. Rufus Putnam, appointed about March 30, 1797. The office was opened by him at Marietta, Ohio, where it remained until April, 1805, when it was removed to Cincinnati.

2. Jared Mansfield, Nov. 1, 1803, to November, 1812.

8. Josiah Meigs, Nov. 24, 1812, to about Nov. 1, 1814.

4. Ex-Gov. Edward Tiffin, appointed (about) Nov. 1, 1814. He removed the office at once to Chillicothe, his residence. He held the office until June, 1829.

5. William Lytle, appointed June, 1829, to June, 1831. Removed the office to Cincinnati.

6. Micajah T. Williams, appointed June, 1831.
7. Robert T. Lytle, appointed April, 1838.
8. Ezekiel S. Haines, appointed June, 1838.
9. William Johnston, appointed July, 1842. During his term the office was ordered to be removed to Detroit, April 1, 1845. Johnston then resigned.
10. Lucius Lyon, appointed April 1, 1845.
11. Charles Noble, appointed Jan. 14, 1850.
12. Leander Chapman, appointed April, 1853. During his term an order was received removing the office to St. Paul, Minn., which was done in April, 1857.
13. Charles L. Emerson, appointed April 13, 1857. Office opened in St. Paul May 26.
14. W. D. Washburn, appointed April 13, 1861.
15. Levi Nutting, appointed May 15, 1865.
16. C. D. Davidson, appointed May 19, 1869.
17. Charles T. Brown, appointed Feb. 7, 1871.
18. Dana E. King, appointed Oct. 13, 1873.
19. James H. Baker, appointed May 4, 1875.
20. Jacob H. Stewart, appointed April 14, 1879.
21. M. S. Chandler, appointed May 1, 1883.
22. J. F. Norris, appointed April 2, 1887.

CHIEF CLERKS.

Prior to 1814 there are no records of appointments to this position.
1814. ——— Gresham.
1815–1845. Samuel Williams.
1845. Samuel Morrison.
1845. John Almy. (October, 24th.)
1853. Geo. S. Frost.
1853. Geo. W. Thayer.
1857. Wm. R. Wood.
1861. J. D. Browne.
1865. Wm. R. Wood.
1865. George Watson. (July 1st.)
1874. S. M. Spalding.
1875. Geo. C. Mott. (May.)
1875. F. E. Snow.
1878. Benj. C. Baldwin.

The late Samuel Williams, of Cincinnati, Ohio, seems to have held this office longer than any other incumbent—thirty years. His familiarity with the surveys, was very extensive, and he compiled the manual of "Instructions to Surveyors General of Public Lands," an official publication, which went through many editions, and is still in use. A more full memoir of him will be found in Appleton's recent "Cyclopedia of American Biography," vol. vi., and in Simpson's "Cyclopedia of Methodism," page 1004.

ST. PAUL, March, 1889. J. F. WILLIAMS.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF PERROT;

SO FAR AS IT RELATES TO MINNESOTA AND THE REGIONS IMMEDIATELY ADJACENT.

[BY A. J. HILL, OF SAINT PAUL.]

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF PERROT AND HIS WRITINGS.

Nicholas Perrot, whose name is already well known to the readers of the early history of Minnesota, was born in 1644, and repaired, at an early age, to New France, where he resided, almost habitually, from 1665 to 1689, amongst the diverse races of its most distant part—the extremity of the angle formed by the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. "At first a simple *coureur du bois* by trade (1665–1684), and interpreter incidentally (1671–1701), he was at last, under the successive governments of M. M. de la Barre, Denonville and Frontenac (1684–1699), charged with a command analagous to that of our chiefs of Arab bureaux in Algeria." In his capacity of interpreter he was present at the convocation of the tribes at *Sainte-Marie-du-Sault*, where, on the fourteenth of June, 1671, the French government assumed the sovereignty of the regions beyond the Great Lakes. Nearly eighteen years later, on the eighth of May, 1689, he himself, acting as principal agent, took formal possession, in the name of the King of France, of all the country

visited by him, or that might be visited, from Green Bay to the regions beyond the Saint Croix and Saint Peter. Subsequent to 1718, no information concerning him can be obtained.

The writings of Perrot are as follows:

1. *Memoire sur les Outagamis, addresse au Marquis de Vaudreuil.*

2. *Plusieurs memoires tant sur les guerres des Iroquois contre les Illinois et les nations d'en haut, que sur les trahisons des sauvages, et en particulier, des Outaouais et des Hurons.*

3. *Memoire sur les moeurs, coustumes, et relligion des sauvages de l'Amerique Septentrionale.*

Of these works, the last one only, the "Memoir upon the manners, and customs and Religion of the Savages of North America," which must have been written sometime between 1718 and 1721, has come down to us; though the "*Plusieurs memoires*," etc., is supposed to have been inserted almost literally, by La Potherie, in the second volume of his history. It was not composed for publication, but for the confidential information of the intendant of Canada, M. Begon, and remained in manuscript till 1864, when it appeared at Leipzig and Paris, being part iii. of the Bibliotheca Americana, edited by the Rev. Father J. Tailhan, of the Society of Jesus, on whose authority the preceding facts are stated. "There is only one copy of Perrot's memoir in existence, of the last century; the same, probably, that Father Charlevoix used, and which he received from M. Begon, Intendant of Canada, in 1721. Our edition is a scrupulous reproduction of it." [T.]

Scattered through this book are accounts of the Sioux and other tribes living in the region comprised within the limits of the present Minnesota, and between it and Lake Michigan; and, in the same connection, a description of

the country of the former nation, and other geographical information of more or less direct reference. As an interesting addition to our knowledge of the *historical geography*, of this region, all such notices have been carefully searched for, and are here given in a collected form for the use of the Historical Society of Minnesota. The extracts are purely in Perrot's own words, no changes having been made, even in the orthography. In addition, though trenching somewhat on the domain of history, the episode of the disappearance of Father Menard is included;—partly by reason of the new and interesting version of the matter, and partly as showing that he should be considered as one of the very earliest European visitors to Minnesota. Our first desideratum being *accurate texts*, comments are best postponed; yet the notes of Father Tailhan are so well considered that this compilation would be incomplete without insertion of such of them as correspond to the extracts from the original work. The translator has also ventured upon two or three explanatory remarks, or interpolations, of his own, distinguishable by being inclosed within brackets; except the dates, which are the Father's.

§ 2. EXTRACTS FROM HIS "MEMOIRE SUR LES MOEURS, ETC."

Car le pays du nord est la terre du monde la plus ingratte, puisque, dans quantitez d'endroits vous ne trouveriez pas un oiseau a chasser; on y ramasse cependant des bluets dans les mois d' aout et de septembre.* * *

Les Chiripinons ou Assiniboualas sement dans leurs marais quelques folles avoines qu'ils recueillent, mais ils n'en peuvent faire le transport chez eux que dans le temps de la navigation (1). * * *

Les Kiristinons qui hantent souvent le long des bords du Lac Superieur et des grandes rivieres, ou sont plus communement les elans (2). * * *

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* *Au lecteur.* Dans ces extraits, le text que donne le Pere T. a ete implicitement suivi; mais quant aux accents grammatiques, on doit pardonner leur absence, puis ce qu'il n'y a pas encore de type Francais dans les imprimeries de St. Paul. H.

Les sauvages que l'on nomme Saulteurs [Chippewais] sont au sud du Lac Superieur * * * ils ont pour voysins et amis les Scioux, sur les limites desquels ils chassent, quand ils veulent. * * *

Si on avance dans le nord, vers l'entree d'Ouisconching, l'hiyer y est extremement froid et long. C'est la ou les castors sont les meilleurs, et le pays ou la chasse dure plus longtemps dans l'annee. * * *

Ils tirent aussy l'hyver de dessous la glace dans les marests ou il y a beaucoup de vase et peu d'eau, une certaine racine, * * * mais elle ne se trouve que dans la Louisianne, a quinze lieues plus haut que l'entree d'Ouisconching. Les sauvages nomme en leur langue cette racine Pokekoretch. * * *

Mais les peuples plus avancez dans le nord, jusqu'a la hauteur d'Ouisconching, n'ont plus de ces nefles, et ceux qui sont encore plus loin manquent de ces noix semblables a celles de France. * * *

Car ce pays [des sauvages des prairies] n'est que plaines; il y a seulement quelques islets ou ils ont coustume d'aller camper pour faire secher leurs viandes. * * *

Quand touts les Outaouas se furent repandus vers les lacs [au Mechingan (3)], les Saulteurs et les Missisakis s'enfuirent dans le nord et puis a Kionconan (4) faute de chasse ; et les Outaouas craignants de n'estre pas assez forts pour soustenir les incursions des Iroquois, qui estoient informez de l'endroit ou ils avoient fait leur establissement, se refugierent au Micissypy, qui se nomme a present la Louisanne. Ils monterent ce fleuve a douze lieues ou environ d'Ouisconching, ou ils trouverent une autre riviere qui se nomme des Ayoes (5). Ils la suivirent jusqu 'a sa source et y recontrerent des nations qui les receurent cordialement. Mais, dans toutte l'etendue de pays qu'ils parcoururent, n'ayant pas veu de lieu propre a s'establir, a cause qu'il n'y avait dutout point de bois, et qu'il ne paroissoit que prairies et rases campagnes, quoyque les buffles et autres bestes y fusses en abondance, ils reprirent leur mesme route pour retourner sur leurs pas; et, apres avoir encore une fois aborde la Louisanne, ils monterent plus haut.

Ils n'y furent pas longtemps sans s'ecarter pour aller d'un coste et d'autre a la chasse: je parle d'une partie seulement de leurs gens, que les Scioux rencontrerent, prirent et ammenerent a leurs villages, * * * et puis les rendirent a leurs gens.

Les Outaouas et Hurons les recurent fort bien a leur tour, sans neantmoins leur faire de grands presents. Les Scioux estant revenus chez eux avec quelques petites choses qu'ils avoient receues des Outaouas, en firent part aux autres villages leurs alliez, et donnerent aux uns des haches et aux autres quelques cousteaux ou alaines. Touts ces villages envoyerent des deputez chez les Outaouas (6).—— * * *

Les Scioux faisoient milles caresses aux Hurons et Outaouas partout ou ils estoient.—— * * * Les Outaouas se determinerent enfin a choisir l'isle nommee Pelee pour s'establir; ou ils furent quelquees annees en repos. Ils y receurent souvent la visitte des Scioux. * * *

Les Hurons, ayant assez d'audace pour s'imaginer que les Scioux estoient incapables de leur resister sans armes de fer et a feu, conspirerent avec les Outaouas de les entreprendre et de leur faire le guerre, afin de les chasser de leur pays, et de se pouvoir estendre d'avantage pour chercher leur subsistance. Les Outaouas et les Hurons se joignirent ensemble et marcherent contre les Scioux. Ils crurent que sitost qu'ils paroistroient, ils fuiroient; mais ils furent bien trompez; car ils soustinrent leurs efforts, et mesme les repousserent, et s'ils ne s'estoient retirez ils auroient estez entierement deffaits par le grand nombre de monde, qui venoient des autres villages de leurs alliez a leur secours. On les poursuivit jusqu'a leur establissement, ou ils furent contraints de faire un mechant fort, qui ne laissa par d'estre capable de faire retirer les Scioux, puisqu'ils n'oserent entreprendre de l'attaquer.

Les incursions continuelles que les Scioux faisoient sur eux les contraignirent de fuir (7). Ils avoient eu connoissance d'une riviere qu'on nomme la Riviere Noire; ils entrerent dedans et, estant arrivez la ou elle prend sa source, les Hurons y trouverent un lieu propre pour s'y fortifier et y establir leur village. Les Outaouas pousserent plus loin, et marcherent jusqu'au Lac Superieur, et fixerent leur demeure a Chagouamikon. Les Scioux, voyant leurs ennemis partis, demeurerent en repos sans les suivre d'avantage; mais les Hurons n'en voulurent point demeurer la; ils formerent quelques partys contre eux, qui firent peu d'effect, leur attirerent de la part des Scioux de frequentes incursions, et les obligerent de quitter leur fort pour aller joindre les Outaouas a Chagouamikon, avec une grande perte de leurs gens. Aussytost qu'ils furent arrivez, ils songerent a former un party de cent hommes pour aller contre les Scioux, et s'en vanger.

Il est a remarquer que le pays ou ils sont [les Sioux] n'est autre chose que lacs et marests remplis de folles avoines, separes les uns des autres par de petites langues de terre qui n'ont tout au plus d'un lac a l'autre que trente a quarante pas, et d'autres cinq a six ou un pe pulus. Ces lacs ou marests contiennent cinquante lieues et d'avantage en carre, et ne sont separes par aucune riviere que par celle de la Louisianne, qui a son lit dans le milieu, ou une partie de leurs eaux viennent se degorger. D'autres tombent dans le riviere de Sainte Croix, qui est situee a leur egard au nord-est, et qui les range de pres. Enfin les autres marests et lacs situez a l'ouest de le riviere de Saint Pierre s'y vont jetter pareillement; si bien que les Scioux sont inaccessibles dans un pays si mareca-

geaux, et ne peuvent y estre detruits que par des ennemis ayant des cannots comme eux pour les poursuivre; parceque dans ces endroits il n'y a que cinq ou six familles ensemble, qui forment comme un gros, ou une espece de petit village, et tous les autres sont de mesme eloignez a une certaine distance, afin d'estre a portee de se pouvior prester la main a la premiere alarme. Si quelqu'une de ces petites bourgades est attaquee, l'ennemy n'en peut deffaire que tres peu, parceque tous les voysins se trouvent assemblez tout d'un coup, et donnent un prompt secours ou il est besoin. La methode qu'ils out pour naviguer dans ces sortes de lacs est de couper dedans leur semences, avec leurs cannots, et, les portant de lac en lac ils obligent l'ennemy qui veut fuir a tourner autour; qui vont tousjours d'un lac a un autre, jusqu'a ce qu'ils les ayent tous passez, et qu'ils soient arrivez a la grand terre.

Les cent hommes Hurons s'engagerent dans le milieu de ces marests, sans cannots ou ils furent decouverts par quelques Scioux, qui accoururent pour donner l 'alarme par tout. Cette nation estoit nombreuse, dispersee dans toutte la circonference des marests, ou l'on recueilloit quantite de folles avoines, qui est le grain de cette nation, dont le goust est meilleur que celuy du riz.

Plus de trois mil Scioux se rendirent de touts costez, et investirent les Hurons, * * * de tout ce party, il n'en echapa qu'un (8).

* * * * * * * * *

Les Hurons, se voyant fort peu de monde, prirent le party de ne pas songer a se venger et de vivre paisiblement a Chagouamikon pendant plusieurs annees. Pendant tout ce temps la, ils ne furent point insultez des Scioux, qui ne s'appliquerent uniquement qu'a faire la guerre aux Kiristinons, aux Assiniboules et a toutes les nations du nord, qu'ils ont detruits et desquels ils se sont aussy faits detruire respectivement.

* * *

Le Pere Mesnard qu'on avoit donne pour missionnaire aux Outaouas [1660]; accompagne de quelques Francois qui alloient commercer chez cette nation, fust abandonne de touts ceux qu'il avoit avec luy, a la reserve d'un qui luy rendit jusqu a la mort touts les services et les secours qu'il en pouvoit esperer. Ce Pere suivit les Outaouas au lac des Illinoets, et dans leur fuitte dans la Louisianne jusqu'au-dessus de la Riviere Noire. Ce fut la qu'il n'y eust qu'un seul Francois qui tint compagnie a ce missionnaire et que tous les autres le quitterent. Ce Francois dis je suivoit attentivement la route et faisoit son portage daus les mesmes endroits que les Outaouas; ne s'escartant jamais de la mesme riviere qu'eux. Il se trouva, un jour [Aout 1661], dans un rapide qui l'entrainoit dans son cannot; le Pere pour le soulager debarqua du sien, et ne prit pas le bon chemin pour venir a luy; il s'engagea dans celuy qui estoit

battu des animaux, et voulant retomber dans le bon, il s'embarrassa dans un labyrinthe d'arbes et s'egara. Ce Francois apres avoir surmonte ce rapide avec bien de la peine, attendit ce bon Pere, et comme il ne venoit point, resolut de l'aller chercher. Il l'appella dans les bois de touttes ses forces, pendant plusieurs jours, esperant de le decouvrir, mais inutilement. Cependant il fit rencontre en chemin d'un Sakis qui portoit la chaudiere du missionaire; qui luy aprist de ses nouvelles. Il l'asseura qu'il avoit trouve sa piste bien avant dans les terres, mais qu'il n'avoit pas veu le Pere. Il luy dit qu'il avoit aussy trouve la trace de plusieurs autres qui alloient vers les Scioux. Il luy declara mesme qu'il s'imaginoit que les Scioux l'auroient pu tuer ou qu'il en auroit este pris. En effet, on trouva, plusieurs annees apres, chez cette nation, son breviaire et sa soutanne, qu'ils exposoient dans les festins en y vouant leurs mets, * * * chasser du costez des Scioux, car Chagouamikon n'en est eloigne, coupant par les terres en ligne direct, que de cinquante a soixante lieues. * * * on luy donna pour second M. de Lude [du Lhut] qu'il envoya avertir [1684] a Kamalastigouia, au fond du Lac Superieur, ou estoit son poste (9).

* * *

Je fus envoye a cette baye [des Puans, poste de Saint Francois Xavier], charge d'une commission pour y commander en chef et dans les pays plus eloignes du coste du ouest, et de ceux mesme que je pourrois decouvrir [1685]. * * *

Je ne fus pas plustot arrive dans les endroits ou je devois commander que je recus ordre de M. Denonville de revenir avec tous les Francois que j'avois. * * * Je me trouvais en ce temps la dans le pays des Scioux ou le gelee avoit brise tous nos cannots; je fus contraint d'y passer l'este [1686]. * * *

Je fus pas terre chez les Miamis vui estoient a soixante lieues environ de mon poste [dans le pays des Scioux], et me'en revins par terre de mesme que j'y estoit alle. * * *

Quelques jours apres je m'en fus a travers les terres a la Baye avec deux Francois. J'en rencontroit a tout moment qui m'enseignoient le meilleur chemin et me regaloient fort bien (10). * * *

TRANSLATION.

For the country of the North is the most ungrateful country in the world, since, in many places, you would not find a bird to hunt; still, blueberries are gathered there in the months of August and September. * * *

The Chiripinons, or Assinniboines, sow wild rice in their marshes, which they afterwards gather, but they can only transport it home during the period of navigation (1). * * *

The Kiristinons who often frequent the shores of Lake Superior and of the great rivers, where the elk are most commonly to be found (2). * * *

The savages, called Sauteurs [Chippewas], are on the south of Lake Superior. * * *

They have for neighbors and friends the Sioux, upon whose limits they hunt, when they wish. * * *

Advancing to the north, toward the entry of the Wisconsin, the winter is extremely cold and long. It is there that the beavers are the best, and the country where hunting lasts the longest during the year. * * *

They take, also, in winter, from under the ice, in marshes where there is much mud and little water, a certain root; * * * but it is only found in *Louisianne*, fifteen leagues [41½ miles] above the entry of the Wisconsin. The savages name this root, in their language, Pokekoretch. * * *

But the tribes furthest advanced in the north, as far as the latitude of the Wisconsin, do not have these medlars, and those who are yet further, want also the nuts similar to the ones of France. * * *

For this country [of the savages of the prairies] is entirely plains; there are only some islands [oases] where it is their custom to camp to dry their meat. * * *

When the Ottawas had scattered toward the lakes [to Mechingan (3.)], the Sauteurs and the Missisakis fled to the north, and then to *Kionconan* (4), for want of hunting; and the Ottawas, fearing they were not strong enough to resist the incursions of the Iroquois, who were informed of the place where they had made their estab-

lishment, took refuge on the Mississippi, called at present the *Louisianne*. They ascended this river to twelve leagues, [or about 33 miles] from the Wisconsin, where they found another river that is called [river] of the Ioways (5). They followed it to its source, and there met nations who received them cordially. But, in all the extent of country which they overran, having seen no place proper to establish themselves, by reason that there was no wood there at all, and that prairies and level plains were all that appeared, although buffaloes and other animals were there in abundance, they returned upon their steps by the same route; and, after having once more reached the *Louisianne*, they ascended higher.

They were not there long without scattering, going from one side to another for hunting: I speak of a portion, only, of their people, whom the Sioux met and led to their village, * * * and then returned them to the rest.

The Ottawas and Hurons received them very well in their turn, without, however, making them any great presents. The Sioux having arrived at home with some little matters that they had received from the Ottawas, divided portions of them with the other villages, their allies, and gave to the ones, hatchets, and to others, knives or awls. All these villages sent deputies to the Ottawas (6). * * *

The Sioux received the Ottawas and Hurons in the best manner, wherever they went. * * * The Ottawas at last resolved to choose the island called Bald [*Pelee*] to settle on; where they were several years in repose. They often received there the visit of the Sioux. * * *

The Hurons having so much audacity that they imagined the Sioux were incapable of resisting them without firearms and weapons of iron, conspired with the Ottawas

to make war upon them, in order to drive them from their country, so as to be able to spread themselves more, to procure means of subsistence. The Ottawas and the Hurons joined together and marched against the Sioux. They believed that as soon as they would appear, the others would fly; but they were much deceived, for their attacks were sustained, and they were even repulsed and if they had not retreated, would have been entirely defeated by the great number of people who came from the other allied villages to the assistance of the Sioux. They were pursued to their settlement, where they were obliged to make a hasty fort, which, however, was sufficient to cause the Sioux to retire,—not daring to storm it.

The continual inroads that the Sioux made upon them constrained them to fly (7). They had known of a river called the Black river. This they entered; and, having arrived where it takes its source, the Hurons found there a place fit to fortify themselves in, and to establish their village. The Ottawas, however, pushed beyond, and reached Lake Superior, where they fixed their home at *Chagouamikon*. The Sioux, seeing their enemies fled, remained in peace, without following them any more. But the Hurons were not content to stop there; they sent some parties against them, which, however, making little impression, drew frequent incursions on the part of the Sioux, and caused them to quit their fort to join the Ottawas at *Chagouamikon*, with a great loss of their people. So soon as they arrived there, they thought of forming a war party of one hundred men to go against the Sioux, and to revenge themselves for their former defeats.

It is to be remarked that the country where they are [the Sioux] is nothing but lakes and marshes, filled with wild rice, separated, the ones from the others, by little tongues

of land, which, at the most, from one lake to the other, are but thirty or forty steps, and, in many cases, only five to six or a little more. These lakes, or marshes, contain fifty or more leagues square [19,000 or 20,000 square miles], and are divided by no river but the *Louisianne*, which has its bed in the middle, and into which a part of their waters is emptied. Others fall into the river of *Sainte Croix*, which is situated, in respect to them, to the northeast, and flows near them. Finally, the other marshes and lakes, situated to the west of the river of St. Peter, throw themselves similarly into it. Thus, the Sioux are inaccessible in that marshy country, and cannot be destroyed there, but by enemies having canoes, like themselves, to follow them; for, in these places, there are only five or six families together, which form a hamlet, or a kind of small village; and all the others are in the same way, at a certain distance, in order to be ready to help each other at the first alarm. If any one of these little villages is attacked, the enemy can hurt it but slightly; for all the neighbors assemble at once, and give prompt assistance where it is needed. The way they have of navigating these lakes is to strike into their [rice] fields with their canoes, and, carrying them from lake to lake, they force the flying enemy to turn round. Thus, they can go from one to another till they have passed them all, and have arrived at the main land.

The hundred Hurons became entangled in the middle of these marshes, without canoes, where they were discovered by some Sioux, who hastened to give general alarm. This nation [the Sioux] was numerous, scattered through all the extent of the marshes where they were gathering wild rice, which is the grain of this people, and tastes better than rice.

More than 3,000 Sioux approached, from all sides, and invested the Hurons, * * * of all this party but one escaped (8). * * *

The Hurons, seeing that they were so weak in numbers, concluded not to seek for revenge any more, but lived peaceably at Chagouamikon for many years. During all this time they were not molested by the Sioux, who only applied themselves to making war on the Kiristinons, the Assiniboines, and all the other nations of the north, whom they have much injured, and by whom they have, on their part, been decimated. * * *

Father Menard, who had been appointed missionary to the Ottawas [in 1660, and who went to them], accompanied by some Frenchmen that were going to traffic with that nation, was abandoned by all who were with him, except one, who rendered to him, to the last, all the services and assistance that he stood in need of. The father followed the Ottawas to the lake of the Illinois, and in their flight to *Louisianne* as far as to above the Black river. There it was that this missionary had but one Frenchman for companion, and where all the rest had left him. This Frenchman, I say, followed carefully the route of the Ottawas, and made his portages in the same places that they had,—never leaving the same river that they were on. He found himself one day [August, 1661], in a rapid that was carrying him away in his canoe. The father, to relieve him, disembarked from his own, but did not take the proper road to come to him; he entered one that had been made by animals; and desiring to return to the right one, became embarrassed in a labyrinth of trees and was lost. The Frenchman, after having ascended the rapid, with a great deal of trouble, waited for the good father, and as he did not come, concluded to search for him. He called his name in the

woods with all his strength, for several days, but in vain. However, he met, in the way, a Sauk who was carrying the camp kettle of the missionary; and who told him news of him. He informed him that he had found his track a longway on, in the woods, but that he had not seen the father himself. He told him, too, that he had found the traces of several others going toward the Sioux. He even said that he thought the Sioux might have killed him, or taken him prisoner. Indeed, several years afterwards, there were found amongst this nation his breviary and cassock, which they exposed at their ceremonies, making offerings to them of their food. * * * To hunt in the direction of the Sioux; for *Chagouamikon* is only fifty to sixty leagues [138 to 166 miles] distant from them, going across the country in a direct line. * * * They gave him, for second, M. du Lhut, whom he sent word to [1684] at *Kamalastiguoia*, at the farther side of Lake Superior, where was his post (9). * * *

I was sent to this bay [Green Bay, post of Saint Francois Xavier], charged with the commission to have chief command there, and in the most distant countries on the side of the west, and even in any that I might discover [1685]. * * *

I had no sooner arrived in the places where I was to command, than I received orders from M. Denonville to return, with all the Frenchmen that were with me.

* * * At that time I was in the country of the Sioux, where the freezing [of the streams] had broken all our canoes; I was compelled to stay there during the summer [1686]. * * *

I went by land to the Miamis, who were about sixty leagues [165½ miles] from my post [in the country of the Sioux], and return from them the same way that I had gone. * * *

Some days after, I went across the country to the Bay [Green] with two Frenchmen. I met continually, with those who showed me the best road, and treated me very well (10).

§ 3. Extracts from the notes to the "Memoire sur les moeurs etc."

(1.) "Assinipoualaks, or *warriors of the rock*, now Assiniboines, a Sioux tribe, which, toward the commencement of the seventeenth century, having quarreled with the rest of the nation, was obliged to secede, and took refuge amongst the rocks (assin) of the Lake of the Woods."

(2.) "The Kilistinons lived upon the banks of Lake Alimbegong, between Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay."

(3.) "*Mechingan*—Eastern Wisconsin and Northwestern Michigan."

(4.) "*Kionconan*—Kewenaw of the American maps." [Pronounced by the modern Chippewas it is like *Ke-wa-yo-nahn-ing*.—E. F. Ely.]

(5.) "The Iowas, neighbors and allies of the Sioux, dwelt between the 44th and 45th degrees of north latidude, twelve days' journey beyond the Mississippi: that they very likely belonged to the latter nation, is shown by the name of *Nadouessioux Maskoutens*, or *Nadouessioux of the prairtes*, that the Algonquins had given them; for *Maskoute* [Mush-kŭ-day], the root of *Maskoutens*, signifies *land destitute of trees*, or *prairie*."

(6.) "We know indeed that two Frenchmen visited, in 1659, the forty Sioux villages without crossing, or even seeing, the Mississippi, of which they have only spoken from hearsay, and from the descriptions that the Hurons of Black river gave them of it. The villages belonged, then, all to the eastern portion of the Sioux territory, situated on this side of the river; that is to say, in the half of the country really occupied by this nation. It may, however, be that in the infant Mississippi, disguised, too, under a Sioux name, our two travelers did not recognize the large and powerful river that the Hurons told them of under its Algonquin title. In this case, they must have been, though without their knowledge, the first to see again in the seventeenth century, the Mississippi, discovered in the sixteenth by Ferdinand De Soto." * * * "One of these travelers was called Des Groseillers, and lived many months with the Sioux. This we gather from the following passage of the manuscript journal of the Jesuits of Quebec (Aug., 1660) * * * "The Ottawas arrived on the nineteenth * * * There were three hundred of them. Des Groseillers was in their company; he had gone to them the year before. * * * Des Groseillers has wintered with the nation of the Ox [*nation du boeuf*], which he mates to be 4,000 men. They are the sedentary Nadouesserons' (Sioux of the East").

(7.) "From the commencement of 1660, the Ottawas inhabited Chegoimegon Point [Shah-gah-wah-mik-ong—Ely], as well as the islands adjacent to it on the southern shore of Lake Superior. The Hurons, at that time, were in hiding near the sources of the Black river, at 6 days distant (40 or 50 leagues) from the same lake, and at 7 or 8 from from Green Bay. The two peoples were visited, in 1659, by two French traders, who, penetrating beyond, made alliance with the Sioux. It is then between the years 1657 [at which time the Hurons and Ottawas were living in Mechingan,] and 1660, that the events described by Perrot must have taken place; that is, from the flight of these tribes to the Mississippi, up to their first troubles with the Sioux, which were followed by a new migration—that was not their last one." * * * "In reckoning at forty or fifty leagues the six days' journey that separated the residence of the Hurons

from Lake Superior, I have only applied the rule given in the *Relation* of 1658 by Father Dreuillettes; 'You will see also,' he writes, 'the new roads to go to the sea of the north, * * * with the distance of the places, according to the days' travel that the savages have made, which I put at fifteen leagues a day in descending, on account of the rapidity of the waters, and at seven or eight leagues in ascending.'" [The common league of France is equal to 2.76 miles.]

(8.) This disastrous expedition following the arrival of the Hurons at Chegoimegon, it could not, consequently, have taken place before 1662. On the other hand, it preceded, by many years perhaps, the visit that the chief of the Sinagaux Ottawas paid the Sioux in 1665 or 1666; it is then very likely that the defeat of the Hurons by the Sioux occurred in one of the two years, 1662 or 1663." * * * "Two reasons have impelled me to place in 1665–1666, the arrival of the Sioux prisoners at Chegoimegon, followed by their return to their country with the chief of the Sinagaux and the four Frenchmen of whom Perrot speaks. The first is that, in this year, the Sioux very certainly visited the Point of the Holy Spirit; the second, that, according to the account of these events, as it is given by our author, four or five years, at least, had passed away between this visit and the abandoning of Chegoimegon, in 1670-71, by the Hurons and the Ottawas."

(9.) "*Kalamalastigouia*— an application of DuLhut, made in 1693, in which he solicits the concession of this post, gives the name as *Kamanastigouian*."

(10.) "Perrot, who was recalled in 1685, from the country of the Sioux, received, four years later, express orders to take possession of it in the name of the king, as seen in the following document:

"'*Nicolas Perrot, commandant pour le roi au poste des Nadouesioux * * * declarons a tous qu'il appartiendra etre venus a la baye des Puants et au lac des Outagamis, rivieres des dits Outagamis et Maskoutins, riviere de l' Ouiskonche et celle de Mississippi, nous etre transportes au pays des Nadouesioux, sur le bord de la riviere de Sainte Croix, a l' entree de la riviere de Saint Pierre, sur laquelle etaient les Mantantons, et, plus haut dans les terres, au nord-est du Mississippi, jusqu aux Menchokatouches, chez lesquels habitent la plus grande partie des Songeskitoux et autres Nadouesioux qui sont au nord-est du Mississippi, pour' et au nom du Roy, prendre possession des terres et rivieres ou les dites nations habitent, et desquelles elles sont proprietaires * * * fait au poste Saint-Antoine le dit jour et an que dessus'*"—[le 8 Mai 1689.] See Neills' History of Minnesota, pp. 143 to 145, for *translation* of this "deed" in full.

DAKOTA SUPERSTITIONS.

BY REV. GIDEON H. POND, OF BLOOMINGTON, MINN.

BLOOMINGTON, DEC. 14, 1866.

Rev. John Mattocks,

DEAR SIR: I have deferred complying with your request to prepare a paper for the Historical Society till now, only because I have never found the leisure necessary to do it. Even now I have been obliged to let everything else go except what was absolutely necessary to be done in order to attend to it. The Press of to-day contains a notice of your meeting last Monday. I suppose, therefore, that I am too late, but will forward to you what I have prepared. If it is not acceptable, please return it to me.

The "superstitions" to which the paper relates, it may seem to some, are too absurd to be religion of men, however degraded, but they have been obtained from the Indians themselves, and I have never discovered that they had anything better, but have discovered much that is worse. I presume that no one will be disposed to say that it is my own invention, for that would be giving me credit for more imaginative and creative genius than I ever claimed. Such as it is I send it, and shall be satisfied if the society accepts it or returns it to me.

The sack I send you will find explained under the head "*Medicine-man a* DOCTOR." It is not the medicine sack of the medicine dancer.

In haste, yours, etc.,

G. H. POND.

The Dakota Indians are the tribes who are generally known by the name of Sioux, a name given them by early French explorers.

Of the Dakota there are several — seven — grand divisions who are, by their orators, sometimes spoken of as "*Seven Fires.*"

These again were divided into a great number of smaller tribes or clans, each having its little chief, who was simply the most influential individual in the clan, which was composed chiefly of blood relations.

The chief, for generations, seems to have had but little authority except that which he derived from the support of some medicine man, who attached himself to him, or from the fact that government officers and traders transacted business with the clans through them.

The name Dakota signifies much the same as "confederacy." The word is often used as the opposite of enemy.

These divisions and subdivisions of Indians are all embraced under the comprehensive name DAKOTA, the name by which they call themselves. The Assinniboines are said to have belonged originally to the Dakota family.

A few years ago, these Dakota tribes occupied the country along the Mississippi river, from about Prairie du Chien, to far above the Falls of Saint Anthony, the whole of the Minnesota valley, and the immense plains extending westward to, and beyond the Missouri river.

The language of all these tribes is the same, with unimportant dialectic differences, and seems to be entirely distinct from that of the tribes around, except, perhaps, that of the Winnebago tribe.

Being one in language they are alike in their civil polity, if indeed it can be said that they have any, alike in their religious belief and practice, and alike in all their manners, allowing for the modifications which have been produced by diversity of circumstances.

It is to the superstitions of these Dakotas that the following paper relates.

In the first place it seems to be necessary to define the very significant Dakota word *wakan*, for in it is contained the quintessence of their religion. It is an epitome of the whole, containing its pith and marrow.

The word *wakan* signifies anything which is incomprehensible. The more incomprehensible the more wakan. The word is applied to anything, and everything, that is strange or mysterious. The general name for the gods in their dialect is this, *Taku-Wakan*, *i. e.*, that which is wakan.

Whatever, therefore, is above the comprehension of a Dakota, is God. Constantly, he sees gods everywhere. Not Jehovah everywhere, but *Taku-Wakan.*

This is the starting point in their superstitions, but it is not with ease that one can arrive at the other end of the subject. It runs out like the division of matter, to infinity. To use an expression of one of their own most intelligent men, "there is nothing they do not revere as God." *Wakan* is the one idea of divine essence. The chief, if not the only difference that they recognize to exist, among all the tens of thousands of their divinities, is the unessential one of a difference in the degree of their wakan qualities, or in the purposes for which they are wakan.

We speak of the *medicine*-man, *medicine*-feast, *medicine*-dance, and the Great-*Spirit* of the Indian, while he speaks of *wakan*-man, the *wakan*-feast, the *wakan*-dance, and the Great-*Wakan.*

Evidence is wanting to show that these people divide their *Taku-Wakan* into classes of good or evil. They are all simply wakan. The Dakotas have another word to represent spirit, or soul, or ghost, but the word wakan is never used in that sense, though a spirit might be wakan.

Evidence is also wanting to show that the Dakotas embraced in their religious tenets, the idea of one Supreme Existence, whose existence is expressed by the term Great Spirit. If some of the clans, at the present time, entertain this idea, it seems highly probable that it has been imparted to them by individuals of European extraction. No reference to such a being is to be found in

their feasts, or fasts, or sacrifices. Or if there is any such reference at the present time, it is clear that it is of recent origin and does not belong to their system. Individuals of them may tell us that the worship of the great medicine dance is paid to the Great Spirit, but it is absolutely certain that it is not, as will be seen as we proceed.

Mr. Carver tells us of a religious ceremony of a very singular nature — very wakan — in which a person is carefully bound hand and foot and mysteriously released by the gods — the performance of which he witnessed, and which he said had reference to the Great Spirit. Doubtless it had such reference in his opinion, but it will be shown in another place, that in fact, it had not.

It is indeed true that Dakotas do sometimes appeal to the Great Spirit when in counsel with the white men, but it is because they suppose him to be the object of the white man's worship, or because they themselves have embraced the christian doctrines. Still it is generally the *interpreter* who makes the appeal to the Great Spirit, when the speaker really appealed to the *Taku*-wakan, and not to the wakan-*Tanka*.

Besides the great struggle which at the present time exists between the heathen and the christian Dakotas, is freely *expressed* to be a strife between the old system of worship rendered to the *Taku-Wakan*, and the new, which is rendered to the *Wakan-Tanka*. The Christians are universally distinguished from the pagans, as being worshipers of Wakan-Tanka, or, as we speak, the Great Spirit.

One word more by way of introduction. It is true of all the Dakota gods or wakans, that they are male and female, are subject to the same laws of propagation under which men and animals exist, and are mortal. They are not thought of as being eternal, except it may be by succession.

DAKOTA GODS.

THE ONKTEHI.

It seems to be proper to allow this wakan object to take the precedence in our arrangement, as he does really in respectability. The literal signification of the name is probably lost, though it may, perhaps, signify extraordinary vital energies.

In their external form, the Onktehi are said to resemble the ox, only that they are of immense proportions. This god has power to extend his horns and tail so as to reach the skies. These are the organs of his power. The dwelling place of the male is in the water, and the spirit of the female animates the earth. Hence, when the Dakota seems to be praying, chanting or offering sacrifices to the water or to the earth, it is to this family of the gods that the worship is rendered. They address the male as grandfather, and the female as grandmother. Hence, also, it is probable, that the bubbling springs of water are called the "breathing places of the wakan."

Though not the same in form, and though destitute of the trident, the horse and the dolphin, yet, because he rules in the watery worlds as Neptune did in the Mediterranean sea, it may not be out of place to denominate him the Neptune of the Dakotas.

This god has power to issue from his body a wakan influence which is irresistible even by the superior gods.

This missive influence is termed *tonwan*, which word will frequently recur as we proceed. This power is common to all the Taku-Wakan This tonwan influence, it is claimed, is infused into each medicine sack which is used in the medicine dance.

One of these gods, it is believed, dwells under the Falls of Saint Anthony, in a den of awful dimensions, and which is constructed of iron.

A little to the left of the road leading from Fort Snelling to Minnehaha, in sight of the fort, is a hill which is used, at present, as a burial place. This hill is known to the Dakotas as "Taku wakan tipi," the dwelling place of the gods. It is believed that one of this family of divinities dwells there.

Not many years since, at the breaking up of the ice in the Mississippi river, it gorged and so obstructed the channel between the falls and Fort Snelling, that the water in a few hours rose very high. When the channel was opened by pressure, of course, the rush of water "carried all before it." A cabin which stood on the low bank under the Fort, was carried away with a soldier in it, who was never heard of afterwards. It is universally believed by the worshipers of the god in question, that the occurrence was caused by one of these gods passing down the river, who took the soldier for his evening meal, as they often feast on human spirits — *wicanagi.*

On the morning of July 4, 1851, at Traverse des Sioux, Robert Hopkins, a missionary of the American board to the Dakotas, was drowned in the Minnesota river. It was the general belief and talk among the Dakotas, who were acquainted with the facts, that this god destroyed his life and ate his soul — *nagi* — because he had spoken against his worship in the medicine dance.

It is related that as some Indians were once passing through Lake Pepin, they suddenly found themselves aground in the middle of the lake. Their god had risen to the surface, and they were lifted from the water on his back! Instantly they were enveloped in clouds, and a terrific tempest arose which chilled them with fear. Eagerly they offered their prayers and sacrifices to their venerable grandfather, when the wakan monster began "slowly to beat his drum, the sound of which was like present thunder, while his eyes glistened like two moons. Soon the blows fell quicker and lighter, and the god chanted as follows:

Wakan de homni waye.
Wakan de homni waye.
Tipi de wankahe waye.
Wakan de homni waye.
Tipi de wankahe waye.
Wakan de homni waye."

TRANSLATION.

I whirled this wakan.
I whirled this wakan.
I demolished this tent.
I whirled this wakan.
I demolished this tent.
I whirled this wakan.

As the chant ceased, a calm succeeded, and one Indian, with his wife, found himself safe and tranquil on the shore, but his companions had all perished. From that time he was a priest of this divinity, and was honored with the name of "Onktehi-duta."

Another chant of this god may, with propriety, have a place here, because it is often used in the medicine

dance, and indicates the character of the god in the estimation of his worshipers:

"Mde hdakinyan wakanyan munka.
Mde hdakinyan wakanyan munka.
He taku nagi hnayan, niyake wata nunwe."

TRANSLATION.

I lie mysteriously across the lake.
I lie mysteriously across the lake.
It is that decoying some soul, I may eat him alive.

The medicine feast and the medicine dance have been received from this god, and the chants above are much used in both.

The sacrifices which are required by them are the soft down of swan rouged with Vermilion, deer skins, tobacco, dogs, medicine feasts and medicine dances.

Their subordinates are the serpent, lizard, frog, ghosts, owl and eagle. These all obey their will. The Onktehi made the earth and men, and gave the Dakotas the medicine sack, and also prescribed the manner in which some of those pigments must be applied, which are daubed over the bodies of his votaries in the medicine dance, and on the warrior when he goes into action. They are believed to possess a wakan and an amuletic power.

Among all the myriads of the Dakota gods, there are none more respectable, or more respected, than the one above mentioned.

MEDICINE DANCE.

The wakan dance is represented as having been received from the family of gods above considered.

The onktehi, immediately after the production of the earth and men, to promote his own worship among them,

gave to the Indians the medicine sack, and instituted the medicine dance. He ordained that the sack should consist of the skin of the otter, the raccoon, the weazel, the squirrel, the loon, one variety of fish, and of serpents. It was also ordained that the sack should contain four species of medicines, of wakan qualities, which should represent fowls, medicinal herbs, medicinal trees, and quadrupeds. The down of the female swan represents the first, and may be seen at the time of the dance, inserted in the nose of the sack. Grass roots represent the second, bark from the root of trees the third, and hair from the back or head of a buffalo, the fourth. These are carefully preserved in the sack.

From this combination proceeds a wakan influence so powerful that no human being, unassisted, can resist it.

At the institution of the dance, the god prepared a tent, four square, opening toward the east, with an extended court in front, and selecting four men for initiation, proceeded to instruct and prepare them for the reception of the mysteries. The rules of conduct which he gave them were, that "they should honor and revere the medicine sack, honor all who should belong to the dance, make frequent medicine feasts, refrain from theft, not listen to birds (slander), and female members should not have a plurality of husbands." The sum of the good promised to the faithful was "honor from the members of the institution, frequent invitations to the feast, abundance of food, with supernatural assistance to consume it, and long life here with a red dish and spoon in the life to come."

The evils threatened against the unfaithful were as follows: "If unfaithful you can not escape detection and punishment. If you enter the forest to hide yourself, the black owl is there; if you descend into the earth, serpents

are there; if you flee into the air, the eagle will pursue you; and if you go into the water, there I am."

The candidates thus instructed and charged were placed in the centre of the tent to receive the tonwan of the sack, discharged at them by the god himself. It is said that they perished under the operation.

After consulting with his goddess, the god holding up his left hand, and pattering on the back of it with the other, produced myriads of little shells, whose virtue is to restore life to those who have been slain by the tonwan of the sack. (Each of the members of the medicine dance is thought to have one of these shells in his body.) After taking this precaution, the god selected four other candidates and repeated the experiment of initiation with success, following the discharge from the sack immediately with the shell cast into the vital parts, at the same time chanting the following words:

"Najin wo, Najin wo,
Mitonwan skatapi do.
Najin wo, najin wo.
Chorus.— Haya haya,
Haya haya."

TRANSLATION.

Rise on your feet, rise on your feet,
My tonwan is for sport,
Rise on your feet, rise on your feet.

Such, it is believed, was the origin of the medicine dance.

There are no officers or superiority of rank, except that of age and experience, known in this pagan institution. The dance is celebrated; first, on account of the death of one of its members whose sack is given to a near relative of the deceased; second, when a new sack is to be

conferred on one who desires to become a member and who has proved himself worthy of the honor by making medicine feasts, and rendering due honor to the members, and, third, in the performance of a vow.

It is required of a candidate for admission that he go through the ceremony of the "vapor bath" once each day, four days in succession. In the meantime some of the aged members instruct him in the mysteries of the institution, in imitation of the course of its author as already related. Besides, he is provided with a dish and spoon, both of wood. On the side of the dish is often carved the head of some voracious animal, in which resides the spirit of the Iya — the god of gluttony. The dish will contain eight to ten quarts, or more, and is always carried by its owner to the medicine feast, and he is bound to eat all that is put in it, or pay a fine to the maker of the feast. A woman came to the writer on one occasion to ask for calico to make a short gown. She said she had lately had seven new ones, but had lost them all at medicine feasts, where she was unable to empty her dish. Grey Iron, of the Black Dog band, used to possess a dish on which was carved a bear entire, indicating that he could eat as much as a bear. The candidate is also instructed in the matter of painting his body for the dance. This paint is nearly all the covering that he wears on the occasion. He must always paint in the same manner for the ceremony of the dance. There is said to be wakan virtue in this paint, and the manner of its application, and those who have not been furnished with a better, by a war prophet, wear it into battle.

The candidate being thus prepared, and having made the requisite offerings for the benefit of the institution, on the evening of the day which precedes the dance, is taken in charge by ten or more of the more substantial

brothers, who pass the night in devotional exercises, such as chanting, dancing, exhorting, eating, and smoking. Early in the morning, the tent, in form like that which the god first erected for the purposes, is thrown open for the dance. The members assemble, painted and ornamented, each bringing his medicine sack.

After a few preliminary ceremonies, appropriate to the occasion, including a row of kettles of large dimensions, well filled and arranged over a fire at the entrance of the court, guarded by sentries appointed for the occasion, the candidate takes his place on a pile of blankets which he and his friends have contributed. He is naked, except the breech-cloth and moccasins, and well smeared with pigments of various hues. Behind him stands an aged and reliable member. Now the master of the ceremonies, with the joints of his knees and hips considerably bent, advances with an unsteady and uncouth hitching, sack in hand, wearing an aspect of desperate energy, and uttering his "Heen, heen, heen," with frightful emphasis, while all around are enthusiastic demonstrations of all kinds of wild passions. At this point the sack is raised near a painted spot on the breast of the candidate, at which the tonwan is discharged. At the instant the brother from behind gives him a push and he falls dead, and is covered with blankets.

Now the frenzied dancers gather around, and in the midst of bewildering and indescribable noises, chant the words uttered by the god at the institution of the ceremony, as already recorded. Then the master throws off the covering, and chewing a piece of the bone of the Onktehi, spirts it over him, and he begins to show signs of returning life. Then as the master pats energetically upon the breast of the initiated person, he, convulsed, strangling, struggling and agonizing, heaves up the shell

which falls from his mouth on a sack placed in readiness to receive it. Life is restored and entrance is effected into the awful mysteries. He belongs henceforth to the medicine dance, and has a right to enjoy the medicine feast. Now comes the season of joy. The novice takes the wakan shell in his hand, and in the midst of savage demonstrations of the wildest kind, exhibits it to all the members, and to the wondering by-standers who throng the inclosure outside. The dance continues, interspersed with "shooting each other," rests, smoking, eating, and drinking, till they have jumped to the music of four sets of singers.

The following chants, which are used in this dance, will sufficiently evince its character and tendency, and the character of its members, especially when it is considered that this is the RELIGION OF IMMORTAL BEINGS — men and women.

"Waduta ohna micage.
"Waduta ohna micage.
"Miniyata, ite wakan, maqu — Tunkan sidan."

TRANSLATION.

He created it for me inclosed in red down.
He created it for me inclosed in red down.
He in the water, with mysterious aspect, gave it to me — my grandfather.

Here is another of like significance:

"Tunkansidan pejihuta wakan micage.
He wicake.
"Miniyate oicage wakan kin maqu ye.
"Tunkansidan ite kin yuwinta wo.
"Wahutopa yuha, ite yuwinta wo."

TRANSLATION.

My grandfather created for me mysterious medicine.
That is true.
The mysterious being in the water gave it to me.
Stretch out your hand before the face of my grandfather
Having a quadruped, stretch out your hand to him.

The celebration of the medicine dance, is the extraordinary part of a system of Dakota superstition, of which the medicine feast is the ordinary and every day part. A very large portion of the adults belong to this fraternity.

THE WAKINYAN.

This name signifies "*flyer*," from *kinyan*, to fly. Lightning emanates from this *flyer*, and the thunder is the sound of his voice. This is the universal belief.

The existence of thunder is a matter of fact apparent to all people. It must be explained and accounted for by the savage as well as by the sage, and by the first with as much confidence as by the latter, and more; for he who is not supported in his tenets by reason must of necessity be confident or fail. He must evince seven times as much confidence as one who has the support of reason, which the wise man observed to be the case in his day. The Indian has no more doubt, apparently, of the correctness of his religious tenets than he has that a hungry man wants to eat. He is as confident of the correctness of of his theory in relation to the thunder, as we are that it is caused by the passing of electricity from one cloud to another.

The lightning, which is so terrible in its effects to destroy life or to shiver the oak to atoms, is to the Dakota simply the tonwan of a winged monster, who lives and flies through the heavens shielded by thick clouds from mortal vision.

By some of the wakan-men, it is said that there are four varieties of the form of their external manifestation. In essence, however, they are but one.

One of the varieties is black, with a long beak, and has four joints in his wing. Another is yellow, without any

beak at all, with wings like the first, only that he has but six quills in each wing. The third is of scarlet color, and remarkable chiefly for having eight joints in each of its enormous pinions. The fourth is blue and globular in form, and is destitute both of eyes and ears. Immediately over where the eyes should be, is a semicircular line of lightning resembling an inverted half-moon, from beneath which project downward two chains of lightning, zigzagging and diverging from each other as they descend. Two plumes, like soft down, coming out near the roots of the descending chains of lightning serve for wings.

These thunderers, of course, are of terrific proportions. They created the wild rice and a variety of prairie grass, the seeds of which bears some resemblance to that of the rice.

At the western extremity of the earth, which is presumed to be a circular plain surrounded by water, is a high mountain, on the summit of which is a beautiful mound. On this mound is the palace of this family of gods. The palace opens toward each of the four cardinal points, and at each doorway is stationed a watcher. A butterfly stands at the east entrance, a bear at the west, a reindeer at the north, and a beaver at the south. Except the head, each of these wakan sentries is enveloped with scarlet down of the most exquisite softness and beauty. (Indians are great admirers of scarlet, and to induce a child to take some nauseous drug, the mother has but to assure it that it is red.)

The Wakinyan gods are represented as ruthless, cruel, and destructive in their disposition, and ever exert their powers for the gratification of this, their ruling propensity, at the expense of whatever may come in their way. They are ever on the "war path," and are "sharpshooters."

Once for all, it may be here stated, that a mortal hatred exists between the different families of the gods, like that which exists between Indians of different tribes and languages. The two families already mentioned, like the Dakota and Chippewa, are always in mortal strife. Neither has power to resist the tonwan of the other, if it strikes him. Their attacks are never open, and neither is safe, except as he eludes the vigilance of the other. The fossil remains of the mastodon are confidently believed to be the bones of the Onktehi which have been killed by the Wakinyan. These relics of the gods are carefully preserved and held in awful esteem, for their wakan virtues. The Wakinyan, in his turn, is often surprised and killed by the Onktehi. Many stories are told of the mortal combats of these divinities. The writer listened to the relation, by an eye witness, of a story in substance as follows: "A Wakinyan god was killed, and fell on the bank of the Blue Earth river, which was twenty-five or thirty yards between the tips of the wings."

From the Wakinyan god, the Dakotas have received their war implements (spear and tomahawk), and many of those pigments which, if properly applied, will shield them from the weapons of their enemies. Dressed in these pigments, they feel as secure as did the fabled Greek, protected by the vulcanian shield.

It almost seems as if it were becoming to offer an apology before proceeding, but it is ventured to presume on the good nature of the reader and introduce

THE TAKU-SKAN-SKAN.

The signification of the term is, *that which stirs.* This god is too subtle in essence to be perceived by the human senses, and is as subtle in his disposition as in his being.

Though invisible, he is ubiquitous. He is supposed to have a controlling influence over intellect, instinct, and passion. His symbol is the boulder, and hence boulders are universally worshiped by the Dakotas. He lives, also, in what is termed "the four winds," and the consecrated spear and tomahawk are animated by his spirit. He is much gratified to see men in trouble, and is particularly glad when they die in battle or otherwise.

He can rob a man of the use of his rational faculties, and inspire a beast with intelligence, so that the hunter, like an idiot, will wander and become bewildered on the prairie or in the forest, and the game on which he hoped to feast his family at night escapes with perfect ease. Or, if he please, he may reverse his influence, and the animal has not even brutal instinct to escape from its pursuer.

This god is passionate and capricious to the highest degree, and hence it is very difficult to retain his favor. Often he is likened to a passionate, whimsical child, taking offense at everything, while it is as necessary to secure his favor, on the part of the hunter or the warrior, as it is to procure food, or to prove one's manhood by taking a scalp. Subordinate to this god are the buzzard, the raven, the fox, the wolf, and other animals of a similar nature. To him belong the "armor feast" and the "vapor bath."

The "armor feast" is of ordinary occurrence when the provisions are of sufficient abundance to support it, in which the warriors assemble and exhibit the sacred implements of war, to which they burn incense around the smoking sacrifice.

THE HEYOKA.

This god is so curiously wakan that he is entitled to a brief notice.

Like the Wakinyan, there are four varieties of them, all of which assume, in substance, the human form, but it would be unnecessarily tedious to note the differences of form, especially as the differences are unimportant.

These objects of superstition are said to be armed with the bow and arrows, and with the deer-hoof rattle, which things are charged with electricity. One of the varieties carries a drum, which is also charged with the same fluid. For a drumstick he holds a small Wakinyan god by the tail, striking on the drum with the beak of the god. This would seem to us to be an unfortunate position for a god to be in, but it must be remembered that it is wakan, and the more absurd a thing is, the more wakan.

One of these gods, in some respects, answers to the wreathed zephyr of Greek mythology. It is the gentle whirlwind which is sometimes visible in the delicate waving of the tall grass of the prairie.

By virtue of their medicine and tonwan powers, they render aid to such men as revere them, in the chase, in inflicting and healing diseases, and especially in the gratification of their libidinous passions.

That feast, in the observance of which the worshipers dip their hands into the boiling kettle, and, lifting the water in their hands, throw it over each other's bodies with impunity, belongs to this god.

The nature of the Heyoka is not simply supernatural, it is the opposite of nature.

He expresses joys by sighs and groans, and by assuming a most doleful aspect, and sorrow and pain by opposite sounds and aspect. Heat causes their flesh to shiver, and their teeth to chatter, while cold makes them perspire and pant. It is said of them, that in the coldest weather of the Minnesota winter, when mercury congeals, they seek some prominence on the prairie, where they put up some

bushes to shelter them from the rays of the sun, under which they sit naked and fan themselves as they swelter with heat, and in the oppressive heat of summer they fold around them robe on robe, and lean over a rousing fire, sniveling and shaking with cold like one in a fit of the ague.

They feel perfect assurance when beset with dangers, and quake terror when safe. With them falsehood and truth are reversed; good is their evil and evil their good.

Years ago at Lac qui Parle, the mother of the late, "curly haired chief," Upiyahdeya, was informed that it was required of her to make a feast to the Heyoka. She was so much opposed by some of her friends that she failed to comply with the wakan mandate, but she assured her friends, that, as a penalty, they would be mortified by seeing her flesh become black, and her head bald, which came true. By degrees her flesh did become very dark, and her head bald, but to an intelligent observer, it was abundantly evident, that instead of being an infliction of the offended god, it was the result of neglecting to wash, even her face, for several years, and pulling out her own hair by little and little.

THE SUN.

As the sun is visible to all men, and as it has been an object of superstitious regard on the part of almost all pagan nations of past generations, it will not be thought worth while, perhaps, to mention the fact that the Dakota, too, worships the sun. It will not, however, be quite out of place to put on record a few facts in relation to this part of Dakota worship, by which they presume to honor this glorious object; facts which evince the sentiments of the deluded worshipers. The following, from the pen of Rev. S. R. Riggs, is to the point:

DAKOTA SUN DANCE.

The sun is, from many circumstances, a natural object of worship among the unenlightened nations of men. With the Dakotas, the sun is sometimes appealed to as a witness. Sometimes they pray to it, generally with the honorable title of *Hunkayapi*. Sometimes, as a god, it communicates with men in dreams and visions. But the nature of the communication is that the men should dance the *wiwanyag-wacipi*, with the promise of success in hunting or war. Generally the object of dancing to the sun is to secure victory over enemies. In this aspect it is a *waih-dusna* or self-immolation to the sun; it is an offering up of one's strength and manhood to secure the aid of the sun in the day of battle. The Bible says, "the stars in their courses fought."

There are occasions, also, when a man dances the sun dance as a thank offering. He is sick and apprehends he will die. He makes a vow that if his life is spared he will dance to the sun. Or, he is on the warpath and he prays to the great *Hunkayapi*, for success, promising in that event to dance to his honor. These are said to be the occasions and reasons for the *Wiwanyag-wacipi*.

More than a quarter of a century has passed since I witnessed this ceremony, and I was there only a couple of hours about the middle of the day. On the north side a couple of tents, fastened together, were stretched around poles, forming a large semicircle. In the focus of the radii stood three dancers, with their eyes turned towards the sun, which was then in the south. Their faces and the upper part of their bodies were gaily painted, and their heads were adorned with feathers. A blue or red blanket was strapped around their waist, and hung down like a woman's skirt. Each one had a fife made of the

bone of a swan's wing, on which they kept up a toot-toot-toot-ing, varied by the measures of the dance and the song. Behind them in the shadow of the tent sat the singers and players on instruments — the drums and rattles. A few women sat still further back, who formed a part of the choir, and joined in the chorus.

The chief dancer on this occasion, if I remember rightly, was *Mahipiya sna*, who afterwards shot himself. The dancers always make incisions in their flesh, in which they insert swan's down or horse hair. These incisions are commonly made on the shoulders and arms. When the sacrifice is intended to be as complete as possible, an incision is made in the back, through which a cord of horse hair is passed, and a buffalo head is attached to the lower end, so that every time the body moves up and down, a slight motion is given to the buffalo head which lies on the ground behind him. At the close, if his strength remains sufficient, he drags the buffalo head around the place.

Occasionally a man inflicts still more torture on himself than this. He makes an incision in his breast, and passing a cord through it, he draws it tight and fastens the other end to a pole which stands immediately in front of him.

The ceremonies of the sun dance commence in the evening. I have been under the impression that the time of the full moon was selected, but I am now informed that it is not essential. The singers and players on instruments practice their songs in the night, and there is some dancing. There is also feasting. Before morning the company generally lie down and sleep awhile.

The real dance commences when the *Hunkayapi* makes his appearance. Then the dancers begin and continue without *eating*, *drinking*, or *resting*, until nature is quite

exhausted. Some join in the dance as particular friends of the dancer. They may occasionally sit down and smoke, but if the maker of the dance falls down or is observed to be quite exhausted, a friend may step forward and make a valuable present to some one. In this case the dancer may rest awhile and begin again. Some give out entirely before the sun goes down, when the dance is concluded. Others are able to continue into the night.

A man who dances to the sun is expected to make a song of his own, which embodies the *god-communication* to him.

SUN DANCE SONGS.

Mahpiya Sna's Song.

1. Hena yuha hibu e:
   Nagi topa hena yuha oecetiwaya nunwe

TRANSLATION.

"Having these I come;
Having these four souls may I make my camp fires."

He was to take *four scalps* in battle.

2. Anpetu kin wamiconza, "The day that is determined for me,
   Makatakiya u we May it come earthward."

3. Minagi topa ye do,
   Hoksidan wakan cicu e do.

4. Wiwanyake toki da he; "Wiwanyake (a bird), where have you gone
   Nitakoda wanyaka ye. Behold your friend."

5. Anpetu kin wanniyag hi nunwe.
   "May the day come to see thee."

6. Wacinhe wakanyan With a crown of glory,
   Taninyan wahinawape. I come forth.

This is the language of the sun as it rises in glory.

7. Mahpiya sna, koda,
   Mini yacin hwo.

This is sung by the singers when the man is almost dying of thirst. The brave man pays no attention to it.

The following is from the pen of Maj. Gen. Curtis, dated Fort Sully, June 2, 1866:

"The whole of three thousand Sioux camped about us gave me early information of their design to have the annual sun dance at this time and place, the season of the year—the trees in full leaf—having now arrived, and they wished me to inform Col. Recor, the commander of the soldiers, that however boisterous their demonstrations might be, they would all be peaceable and of a pious character.

"On yesterday, June 1st, the dancing was delayed at intervals to allow tortures to be inflicted. Two or three men stood over the devotee with needle and knife, very quietly performing penance, according to the customs of all these sacerdotal rites, as follows: First, they cut the arms in several places by sticking an awl in the skin, raising it and cutting out about half an inch; this is done on both arms, and sometimes on the breast and back. Then wooden setons (sticks about the thickness of a common lead pencil) are inserted through a hole in the skin and flesh. Then cords or ropes are attached to these sticks by one end, and to the pole at the other end, the victim pulling on the ropes till the seton sticks tear out the flesh and skin. I saw one with two setons thus attached to his breast, pulling till it seemed to draw the skin out three inches, and finally requiring nearly his whole might to tear out the seton.

"One, painted black, had four ropes attached at once. The pulling out is done in the dance, the pulling carried on in the time of the music by jerk, jerk, jerk, and the eye, head and front all facing the sun in the form of supplication. One had four setons attached to four dry buffalo head bones. These were all strung and suspended to his flesh by ropes that raised each head some three feet off the ground. He danced hard to tear them out, but they would not break the skin. One came off the stick accidentally, but it was again fastened. Finally, these heavy weights (each at least twenty five pounds, weight), not tearing out by their own weight or motion, the devotee gave a comrade a horse to take hold of the rope and tear out the setons. While these were being thus tortured, their female relations came in and had pieces cut out of their arms to show their appreciation of the valor and devotion of their kinsmen. Still as soon as the victim could be prepared, the music was renewed, and the dismal dance went on, victims' bodies now mingled with blood, paint and setons.

"There being several steamboats and many soldiers here, a crowd of spectators rather embarrassed the performers, so they concluded the performance at twelve o'clock, having only danced twenty-four hours instead of forty-eight, as they usually do. All the devotees gave away all their ponies and other valuables to their friends, had their wounds carefully dressed by attendant medical men, and sat down to an abundant feast of dog soup and buffalo meat.

"So ended this most barbarous and painful exhibition of savage idolatry. The picture is still deeply impressed on my senses, but I can not give half the horror of the scene, either by pen or pencil."

The object of these rites is to obtain the favor of the god to whom they relate.

In these divinities which have been mentioned, and innumerable others like them, as various as the wildest imaginations, maddened by passion, can create, or their circumstances and felt wants demand, the Dakotas find all that they desire of a religious nature. These divinities communicate with mortals through the medium of

THE MEDICINE MAN.

These men are the representatives of the gods on earth to men. They *are* the gods in human form, though in diminished proportions. They are essentially different from other men — wakan.

The original essence of these men and women, for they appear under both sexes, first wakes into existence floating in ether. As the winged seed of the thistle or of the cottonwood floats on the air, so they are gently wafted by the "four winds"—"Taku-skan-skan"—through the regions of space, until, in due time, they find themselves in the abode of some one of the families of the superior gods by whom they are received into intimate fellowship. There the embryotic medicine man remains till he becomes familiar with the characters, abilities, desires, caprices, and employments of the gods. He becomes

essentially assimilated to them, imbibing their spirit and becoming acquainted with all the chants, feasts, fasts, dances, and sacrificial rites which it is deemed necessary to impose on men.

Some of the more favored of these men are privileged to pass through a succession of such inspirations, with various families of the divinities, until they are completely *wakanized*, and prepared for human incarnation.

In particular, they are vested with the irresistible powers of the gods to do good or evil, with their knowledge and cunning, and their everywhere present influence over mind, instinct, and passion. They are instructed how to inflict diseases and to heal them, to discover things concealed from common men, to foretell future events, to manufacture implements of war, and infuse into them the missive virtue — the tonwan — of the gods, and to perform all sorts of wonders.

Thus qualified for his mission, this germ of wakan, to become incarnate, is again committed to the direction of the "four winds." From his elevated position, he selects a place which is to be the scene of his service and enters the body of an unborn infant. Thus he effects an entrance into the world and into the sympathies of mortals.

When one of them dies, he returns to the abode of his gods, where he receives a new inspiration and a new commission, to serve a new generation of men in some other portion of the world. In this manner he passes through four inspirations and incarnations, and then returns to his primitive nothingness. These characters, however, do not always appear in human form, but enter the bodies of beasts, as the wolf, the bear, and the buffalo.

To establish their claims to inspiration, these characters must, of course, perform things that are wakan, in a

manner to satisfy those on whom they purpose to impose their superstitions.

For this purpose they artfully lay hold of all that is strange and mysterious, and if possible turn it to their own advantage. To do this is the one object and effort of their lives. It is their study day and night, at all times and on all occasions. They think about it when awake, and dream about it when asleep. They make use of all the means in their power and their zeal never grows cold.

They assume familiarity with whatever astonishes other people, with a degree of self-complacency, and an air of impudence and assurance which strikes the observers with amazement. They foretell future events with a degree of accuracy or of ambiguity which is sufficient for their purpose. Those at one village affect to be familiar with what is transpiring at another village leagues distant. They predict the result of a war expedition as if they had already been there; and if the prediction is not fulfilled, they find no difficulty in setting the failure to the account of the sins of their followers.

They inflict diseases and heal them. They kill and make alive. When occasion requires they seem to calm the tempest or to raise the storm, and converse with thunder and lightning, as with a familiar friend and equal. In their devotional exercises, at times, they wrangle with the gods, charged them with duplicity, and are defiant. If one of them is killed by the electric fluid, which sometimes happens, it only proves the truth, to the living, of all he had taught them concerning the Wakinyan, and that he had provoked their anger by his sins.

The medicine man is not only familiar with the superior gods who are out of him, but he also has inferior gods dwelling in him, to satisfy whose cravings he frequently, and in the most public manner, tears off with his teeth

and eats the raw, quivering, bleeding flesh of newly slaughtered animals, like a starving beast or bird of prey, devouring parts of dogs or fish entire, not excepting bones and scales.

RAW FISH FEAST.

In the summer of 1852, a feast of this kind was observed at Shakopee. It was made by *Anoginajin*, second chief of the Little Six band, and others.

After two days spent in introductory ceremonies, including "vapor bath" and "armor feast," a tent was prepared opening toward the east, with a spacious court in front constructed of bushes. Within the court each of those who were to participate had a bush set, in which was prepared a nest. Two pikes, each about one foot long, rouged with vermilion and ornamented with down from the swan, were placed on some branches of trees in the inclosure. The fishes were entire as they had been taken from the water. Near the fishes were placed dishes of birch bark filled with sweetened water. The implements of war belonging to the participants were solemnly exhibited in the tent. The dancers, who were naked, except the breech-cloth and moccasins, were fantastically smeared with pigments of various colors, and otherwise ornamented with down, white and red. Four ranks of chanters and musicians were in attendance. The dancers claimed to be inspired by the cormorant. They danced to the music of three ranks of the singers, till their chants closed, taking little seasons for rest and smoking. When the fourth rank struck the drum "*and lifted up their voices*," the inspiration was poured out and the welkin trembled and the dancers approached the fishes in a rage, like starving beasts, and, without using their hands, tore off piece after piece, scales, bones, entrails and all, and

swallowed them, drinking at the same time from their bark dishes. Nothing remained at the close except the heads, fins, and large bones, which they had deposited in their nests. To end the ceremony, what few articles of clothing had been worn on the occasion were offered in sacrifice to the gods.

Thus, while the favor of the *Taku-Wakan* was secured, the fact that the dancers were inspired was demonstrated to most of the six hundred wondering spectators. By performances of thousands of wakan things, such as have been hinted at, these men triumphantly substantiate their claims to inspiration, and they are fully believed to be "the great powers of the gods," and, among their people, hold a position like that of the *Thugs* of India. The wakan qualities which these persons possess, or assume to possess, qualify them to act in any capacity and in any emergency.

THE MEDICINE MAN A PRIEST.

As a priest, with all the assurance of an eye-witness — of an equal and of intimate and long continued communion, he bears testimony for the divinities. He gives a minute description of their physical appearance, their dwelling place, and their attendants. He reveals their disposition, their powers and their employments, as one who has been with them. He dictates prayers and chants, institutes fasts and feasts, dances and sacrifices. He defines sin and its opposite, and their respective consequences. In short, he imposes upon the people a system of demonism and superstition, to suit their depraved tastes, passions, caprices, circumstances, and interests as savages, with an air of authority and with a degree of cunning which does seem to be almost superhuman — a system so artifully devised, so well adapted to them, so congenial to

them, that it readily weaves itself into, and becomes a part of them as really as the woof becomes a part of the texture, insuring their most obsequious submission to its demands. It becomes part of their body, soul, and spirit. They breathe and speak, and sing and live it. It is not something that can be assumed and laid off at pleasure.

In the character of a priest, the influence of these demons in human form is so complete and universal that, thirty years ago, scarce an individual could be found among them who was not a servile religionist. Every individual was trained to it from early infancy. Mothers put the consecrated offering into the little unconscious hand of their babes at the breast, and caused them to cast the present to the god. As soon as the little tongue could articulate, it was taught to say "grandfather befriend me;" or "grandmother befriend me." On one occasion the writer witnessed a whole band, old and young, male and female, march out to the lake shore in Indian file, and perform their acts of devotion, and offer their prayers at the back of the medicine man, who was at the same time officiating beween them and the god — each individual was obliged to the performance — and mothers fixing the little mouths of unconscious infants carefully, reverently, on the stem of the consecrated pipe, which the priest extended to them backward over his shoulder.

Much as the savage loves ease and self-indulgence he will cheerfully subject himself to almost any privation, discomfort and toil, for days, weeks or even months together in order to procure the necessary provisions for a sacrifice which the priest assures him the gods demand. If he fails he fully believes that the penalty may be the infliction of any or all the evils to which an Indian is exposed. A man made a trip on foot from the "Little

Rapids," on the Minnesota river, to Big Stone Lake, and purchased and brought on his back a pack of dried buffalo meat, weighing, probably, sixty or seventy pounds, a distance of nearly two hundred miles, to be used in the medicine dance — a sacrifice to the Onktehi and to the souls of the dead. This he did because the priest assured him that it was the will of the *Taku-Wakan*.

THE WAR PROPHET.

In this capacity the wakan-man is an indispensable necessity. Every Dakota man sixteen years old and upward is a soldier, and is formally and *wakanly* enlisted into his service.

From him he receives the implements of war, as the spear and tomahawk, carefully constructed after a model furnished from the armory of the gods, painted after the divine prescription, and charged with the missive virtue — the tonwan — of the divinities. From him also he receives those paints which serve as an armature for the body.

To obtain these necessary articles from the *Mde Tahunka* — the war prophet — the proud applicant is required for a time, to abase himself and serve him, while he goes through a series of painful and exhausting performances, which are necessary on his part to enlist the favorable notice of the gods. These performances consist chiefly of "vapor baths," fastings, chants, prayers and nightly watching.

The spear and tomahawk being prepared and duly consecrated and rendered wakan, the person who is to receive them, with a most piteous wail and suppliant aspect, approaches the god-man and reverently presents to him the pipe of prayer. He then lays his trembling hand

on the head of his master, and sobs out his desires in substance as follows:

"Pity thou me, poor and helpless—a woman—and confer on me the ability to perform manly deeds."

The prophet then, with the majestic mein of a god, places in his hand the desired weapons, as he says, "Go thou and test the swing of this tomahawk, and the thrust of this spear; but when in triumph thou shalt return—a man—forget not thy vows to the gods."

In this manner every man, it is said, is enlisted into the service of the war prophet, and enlisted for life.

The weapons thus received are preserved by the Dakota warrior as sacredly as was the "ark of the covenant" by the pious Hebrew of ancient times. They are carefully wrapped in cloth, together with sacred pigments, and in fair weather are every day laid outside of the lodge, and may never be touched by an adult female.

Every warrior feels that his success, both on the battlefield and in the chase, depends entirely upon the strictness, promptness and constancy with which he adheres to the rules which are imposed upon him by the wakan war leader.

The influence of the medicine man in this capacity permeates the whole community, and it is hardly possible to overestimate it. Those who are led by him will be murderers; it is their trade. They are commissioned for this. Those who are bound to these war prophets by such rites *will be led by him unless they renounce their religion.*

The Indian, if he can, will kill a foe, whoever he be, as long as he is a pagan. He is as apt to do it as a duck is to swim. The favor of the gods, and even his very manhood, depends upon it. He is not a man till he has killed a foe. Till their hands have been dipped in blood they are liable to be abused and insulted in the most outrageous

manner. Young men, in sight of Saint Paul, have been obliged to assume the petticoat and exhibit themselves as women in the public dance, because they had not killed a foe. The *pagan* Indian, in a sense, is obliged to be a murderer.

THE MEDICINE MAN A DOCTOR.

The power of the doctor "caps the climax." In him all the powers of the gods meet, as the colors blend in the rainbow. The doctor is revered as much, perhaps, as the superior gods themselves. The subordinate gods dwell in them and confer on them the power to *suck out disease* from the human body. If long without practice, it is said that the gods in them become restless, and subject them to much inconvenience. To pacify them it is represented that they sometimes obtain and drink considerable quantities of human blood.

When one of these doctors has been called, with due respect, to administer relief to a sick person, the patient is placed on a blanket on the ground, in a lodge vacated for the purpose, with the body chiefly naked. The doctor also lays off his own clothes, except the breech-cloth. After chants and prayers, the rattling of the sacred shell, and numerous other noisy ceremonies, with an air and attitude of self-conceit and impudence, which only a devil could inspire, he mutters out the following, or something similar: "The gods told me that having this, I might approach the bones of a dead man even, and set him on his feet." He then drops on his knees at the patient's side, and applying his mouth to the part of the body immediately over what is supposed to be the seat of the disease, he sucks with frenzy, at the same time rattling the shell with the utmost violence. In this manner the god

which is in the doctor draws the disease from the sufferer. After a considerable time spent in this manner, like an enraged beast, he suddenly starts to his feet in apparent agony. He utters dreadful, indescribable sounds, in variety, and groans which may be distinctly heard for a mile or more, at the same time violently striking his sides with his hand, and the earth with his feet, twisting the whole body into the most hideous contortions. He now grasps a dish of water with his left hand, and proceeds, with a disgusting sing-song bubbling, with his mouth in the water, to deposit the disease in the dish, keeping time still with the sacred rattle which he continues to shake with great energy.

This operation is continued with brief intervals for smoking, for hours, and sometimes day after day and night after night. This process sometimes effects a cure at once. At other times extra demonstrations are deemed necessary. The doctor ascertains the sin which has been committed, and the particular god which has been offended and inflicted the disease. Then he makes an image of the offended god, which he hangs on a pole and which is shot by three or four persons in rapid succession. As the image falls the spirit of the god which is in the doctor leaps out, and, falling upon the spirit represented by the image, kills it. On this it is expected that the sick one will recover. But it is not absolutely certain that even this will prove effectual. After repeated experiments, the doctor often discovers that the god who inflicts the disease is mightier than the one by whom he is inspired, and he desists. Now, unless another doctor is found competent to expel the demon, death ensues. The wakan-men are wakan to a degree corresponding to the strength of the gods by whom they are respectively inspired.

If the higher doctor can be found, health will be restored, but it is difficult to obtain their aid. If not duly respected at all times, and on all occasions, and in all their relations, and well remunerated for their services, in advance, they may let the patient die without exerting their powers, or perform their work deceitfully. This seems to be a necessary provision of their system, as it affords ample room to account satisfactorily for all failures. This operation is termed Wapiyapi, or renovation. There are instances where the doctor prevails on the gods to come in person and perform the operation for him. The following description of such a scene was obtained from an Indian who was present on the occasion. The doctor was named Red Bird, of the Lake Calhoun band, who was killed with his son by the Chippewas in the memorable battle of Rum River, in the summer of 1839. The sack of Red Bird, which contains the symbols of the gods, and which was used on the occasion to which the narrative relates, has since providentially fallen into the hands of the writer, and will be herewith forwarded as a relic of superstition worthy of preservation. The gods employed were the *Taku-skan-skan:*

"A man had been sick a considerable time, and many of the wakan-men had attempted, to the extent of their ability, to exorcise him, but without any favorable results. Red Bird had in his service many of the gods called Taku-skan-skan. It was decided in council that the case should be referred to them. Accordingly, in the evening, a feast was prepared for the gods, to which they were called by chants, on the part of the medicine men. A tent of parchment was prepared for them. The doctor was bound, by carefully weaving strings and tying them firmly in all his fingers and toes. Then his arms were bound behind his back and he rolled up in a buffalo robe,

and carefully bound in it by cords around it outside. He had a little boulder in his bosom, a symbol of the gods. He charged those who bound him to do it thoroughly, assuring them that his boys — his gods — would come and release him. He was so bound that he could not stir, and then was rolled into the tent, and the sick man was placed by his side. Over him was hung a drum and a deer-hoof rattle; a large number of spectators were in attendance — men, women, and children. Red Bird ordered that certain men present should chant to the gods, which they did. The doctor, in the meantime, was very demonstrative with his wakan jargon. A young man, who had been appointed for that purpose, then gave a wild yell, and all lights were suddenly extinguished. At the instant, a strong wind struck the tent, and the doctor cried out, as if he were in great fear, "Boys, come carefully, your father is very weak, be careful." But the gods did not seem to regard the admonition and beat the drum, shook the rattle and heaved the tent furiously. The tent seemed to be full of them and they were very talkative and rude, but their voices were so fine, so soft, that we could not comprehend their meaning. They performed the ceremony of exorcising the sick man. The sounds they made were so different from what we had been accustomed to hear, and so ludicrous that we could scarcely refrain from laughter, though we had been forewarned that if any one should laugh he should be knocked down. The gods called for a pipe, and smoked many pipe-fulls, indicating a large number of them, but it was dark and they could not be seen. Suddenly the gods were all gone, and the doctor ordered the torches to be lighted. All expected to see him still bound as he was thrust into the tent; but to their surprise, he was out of the robe, and all of his fingers and toes slipped out of their fasten-

ings, though not a single knot had been untied. The sick man began from that time to recover, though all sick persons who are treated in this manner do not recover. All were confirmed in their faith and confidence in the Taku-Wakan."

In some cases the sick are cured by obtaining a new blanket, and consecrating it to this class of gods, and then wrapping the sick person in it.

VAPOR BATH.

As frequent allusion has been made to this ceremony, and as it is a rite which is so frequently observed, it seems necessary that it should be explained. The following description of this rite is furnished by Rev. S. R. Riggs:

SIMON'S INIPI.

He took *eight poles* about the size of hoop-poles, of any wood that would bend readily, and putting the large ends in the ground, at proper distances in a circle, bent them over and tied them together at the top. This framework he then covered with robes and blankets, leaving a small hole for a door at one side. It was a little higher than a man's head, when seated within. Before the door he built a fire, and having selected four round stones (or nearly round) about as big as a man's head (size not essential), he placed them in the fire. He called Wamdiokiya to be high priest on the occasion. The high priest then ordered him to call so many to be his helpers — the number determined by the size of the tabernacle — from two to five. With these he entered into the *wokeya*, all entirely naked.

Simon stands at the door without, by the fire, to attend the stones. He has made two paddles about twelve

inches long and painted them red. These are to be used by the man within to move the stones with. He covers the ground between the tent door and the fire with nice feathers and cut tobacco. When the stones are heated, the chief within calls to him to roll in the first one. This he does, with a brand, putting tobacco upon it and praying to it—"Tunkan wah pani mada wo, toka wakte kta wacin." So he rolls one after another of the stones over the tobacco and feathers and prays to each one. The men within receive them and roll them to the middle with the painted paddles—singing, hi, hi, hi, hi.

They then commence their songs; each one has a song. They all pray to the *Tunkan* to give Simon help in the day of battle, to make him strong and furious and successful. The chief then says to his fellows: "Have mercy on me, I will cool these stones." And he proceeds to pour water on them. The steam fills the tent, which had been closed entirely after the stones were rolled in. Then they pray to the *Taku-skan-skan* or to the *Wasicun*. All their gods are called *Wasicun*.

Simon, this while, stands without, crying and praying. The chief *wakan* man receives an encouraging communication from the stone god which he delivers to Simon. When the stones are cold, they all cry and come out of the booth. So ends this sacrifice to the stone god.

The doctors count much on the efficacy of this "vapor bath." Perhaps no other one rite is in more general use than this, on the part of all who wish to become conspicuously *wakan*.

As regards the medicine man as a doctor, or exorcist, or juggler, it is not only believed that he can cure diseases, but that he can inflict them at his pleasure, on any person who may dare to offend him. It only requires a *purpose* on his part. They are feared, if possible, more than

the gods themselves, for *they are present* in the camp and in the lodge.

If a person is sick, he will give all he possesses and all he can obtain on credit, to secure the services of one of them, and will cheerfully give a horse, in advance, for a single performance such as has been described. In almost innumerable instances, families sacrifice all that they have on these pretenders, and to be abandoned by them is felt to be a dire calamity. Parents are as careful to train their children to respect and revere them, as was an early Puritan to inspire his children with reverence for the divine institutions of Christianity. They are respected. They sit in the highest seats and have the best of everything. If some among them are thought to be mere pretenders, this circumstance only serves to enhance the importance of those who are believed to be true.

Thus, by imposing on an ignorant, savage people, "gods many," gods of life and gods of death, gods of hate and revenge and lust, gods of cold and of heat, gods of all the various passions, gods of lying, deceit and wrong, gods of gluttony and drunkenness, gods of lasciviousness and impurity, gods of conception and abortion, gods innumerable — hideous and horrid monsters, which are the creation of the inflamed and bedeviled imaginations of these Thugs — these wakan men — they exert an influence over them, in the various official capacities which they assume, which is absolute and which pervades Dakota society — an influence which bears with all its force on each individual of their victims, which tends to crush him down still deeper, if indeed there are depths below them, in ignorance, superstition, degradation, and misery of soul and body, and force them into an unreserved surrender to their own whims and caprices. Of these wakan men there are from five to twenty-five in each of the little clans of Dakotas.

Alkalies and acids mingled produce effervescence. A like result attends the contact of any opposing influences. Nothing can exceed the antagonism that lies between truth and the system of superstition which is the subject of the foregoing paper. Root, trunk, branches, and leaves, there is not the smell of truth to be found on it. It is plainly opposed to truth, and truth is opposed to it. It is opposed by the truth of history, the truth of science, the truth of "animated nature," social truth, political truth, and spiritual truth. *All* truth tends directly to its destruction. A little boy was one day listening to a missionary who was endeavoring to explain to him the workings of the magnetic telegraph. The little half-naked fellow seemed to catch an idea of natural truth, and starting up, excitedly exclaimed: "If that is true, then all our religion is false." A glimpse of truth broke the spell that bound his mind, and shook their whole system of superstition to its foundations. It never recovered its hold on him. For more than thirty years, truth, in variety, has been held to the Dakota mind. With a keen and jealous eye, these wakan men have watched its workings. It has mortified and pained them to see their cords of error snapped by it, one after another, and their hold on their blind victims loosened. Their "craft was in danger." They have cried with voice and soul, these thirty years, "Great is the Taku-Wakan—the Taku-Wakan is wakan, and I am his prophet."

They have done all they could and dare do, in the circumstances, to oppose the progress of truth among their people, by slanders and snares, gibes and abuse, and violence, and even murder. But in spite of their vigilance and efforts to oppose, truth advanced with slow but steady step, and worked like "leaven in the meal." Old men and young men, old women and young women, boys and

girls, left them, and by open profession of regard for truth, stood boldly up in the face of their lies. The symbols of the gods, which the priests, war prophets and doctors had painted, wreathed and paraded "on every hill," were defiantly spurned from their places by the feet of those who had been used to obey their caprices and crouch to their authority. The feasts and dances were less fully attended, the medicine sack cast away, while hundreds of their former dupes, emancipated, read daily in their Bibles, sung the song of Zion, and prayed in their houses, to their "Father in heaven;" and on the Sabbath assembled in the christian church, erected by their own hands, and seriously, reverently, joined in the holy worship of the God of heaven. At sight of this, the rage of these demons in human form boiled over. The effervescence was mighty. Threats were fulminated and nothing but opportunity was wanting for them to rise, and re-establish by violence, the waning power of the *Taku-wakan*, and to return, wading through the blood of Christians, if need be, to the homes of their pagan fathers. They hoped to be able to roll back the providential wheels of the Almighty God.

That opportunity, they deemed, had arrived when all our young men were being marched off to the South, probably to be swept away by the great Rebellion. Hence, the "outbreak" of 1862. True, it has been said that the *christian* Indians were our worst enemies, but where is the evidence of this? Were not those *christian* Indians, at least by profession, who rescued companions of our people from death, and conducted them, through perils, to a place of safety? Which is the exception? Were not those *christian* Indians who, in a considerable number of cases sacrificed their little all and risked their lives to protect individuals and conduct them to safety? Were there any exceptions? Which was the *pagan* Indian who performed

such a deed? Were not those *christian* Indians, who, encouraged by Gen. Sibley, effected the deliverance from bondage and death, or treatment worse than death, of hundreds of captives at "Camp Release?" Did not the leaders of that band bear *christian* names, given to them in the holy ordinance of baptism? Who are they who have composed the band of faithful "scouts," three long years standing on our frontiers to protect our citizens from the scalping-knife of the worshipers of the *Takuwakan*, but *christian* Indians? Was there an exception here? It is not claimed for these Indians that they were *model Christians*, but they were Christians by profession, and their names and the names of their wives and children stood enrolled on the records of the christian church.

On the other hand, who led the murderous bands in the work of destruction? "Little Crow" and his *wakan* associates, who, from old time, had been the open and determined enemies of the christian religion, and most zealous and devoted worshipers of the *Taku-wakan*. It is not denied that individuals, professing Christians, were involved in the wrong and fled with the pagans to the plains. We could name a few such.

Even those of the pagan party who surrendered themselves to our military authorities, felt that the Wood Lake battle was the result of the strife between their *medicine-men* and "*God Almighty*;" and from that day, in their minds, the doom of their gods and of their representatives were sealed. They soon cast away even the symbols of their divinities, and a large portion of them began to seek to know how to worship the God of the Bible.

Those wakan men will never suffer their people to enter into an honest treaty of peace with us while they are wakan men. They can never be trusted. Circumstances may render them harmless, but by their own showing, they are *essentially wakan*. They are devils incarnate.

CAPTAIN JONATHAN CARVER.

THE CARVER CENTENARY.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CELEBRATION BY THE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

OF THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COUNCIL AND TREATY OF CAPT. JONATHAN CARVER, WITH THE NAUDOWESSIES, ON MAY 1, 1767, AT THE "GREAT CAVE," [NOW WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE CITY OF SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA.] HELD MAY 1, 1867.

PART I.

THE VISIT TO THE CAVE.

In response to invitations sent out, and to notices of the centenary celebration published in the daily journals, a number of the members of the Minnesota Historical society assembled at its rooms at 4 P. M., Wednesday, May 1, 1867, in order to proceed to the cave in a body. Messrs. Cook & Webb, of the "Third Street Livery Stable," kindly furnished a four horse omnibus for such as had not a conveyance of their own, while a number proceeded to the spot on foot. Notwithstanding the weather was unseasonably inclement, the party enjoyed themselves finely. Jest, pun, and repartee, continually set the group in a roar.

Arriving at the brewery, the party alighted, and accompanied by the rest of the pilgrims to the Shrine of Carver, who met us here, proceeded on foot down the bank of the river to the cave. Its entrance was soon reached, and after lighting their lanterns and candles, the party entered the sacred precincts of the *Wakan-Teebe.*

DESCRIPTION OF THE CAVE.

Carver's description of the cave, made carelessly a century ago, is yet a fair picture of it. He says it is "a remarkable cave, of an amazing depth. The Indians term it *Wakan-Teebe;* that is, the dwelling of the Great Spirit. The entrance into it is about 10 feet wide, the height of it 5 feet. The arch within is near 15 feet high, and about 30 feet broad. The bottom of it consists of fine, clear sand. About 20 feet from the entrance begins a lake, the water of which is transparent, and extends an unsearchable distance. I threw a small pebble toward the interior parts of it with my utmost strength. I could hear that it fell into the water, and caused an astonishing and horrible noise that reverberated through all those gloomy regions. I found in the cave many Indian hieroglyphics, which appeared very ancient. They were cut in a rude manner upon the inside of the walls, which were composed of a stone so extremely soft that it might be easily penetrated with a knife, a stone everywhere to be found near the Mississippi. The cave is only accessible by ascending a narrow, steep passage that lies near the brink of the river," etc.

In the main, the above description is yet a faithful one.

The entrance to the cave, broad as it is, is now almost choked up by detritus from the bluff above, partly composed of masses of sandstone crumbled off by the frost,

and partly of rubbish which the workmen in a stone quarry at the top of the bluff have thrown over. Still there is an easy and safe entrance in the upper corner of the mouth, along the bottom of which passageway flows a stream of sparkling, pure water. The track of the Winona & Saint Paul Railway is graded along the bank of the river, a few feet in front of, and slightly lower than the mouth of the cave. Carver says that the cave was, at the time of his visit, "only accessible by ascending a narrow, steep passage that lies near the brink of the river." This was doubtless the case then, but the frosts and floods afterward crumbled down the bank in front of it, so that the mouth of the cave can easily be seen from the river.

After entering the doorway of the cave, the ceiling suddenly expands, and rises to a dome of considerable height. Twenty-eight feet from the entrance ("about twenty," as Carver estimates it) "begins a lake," etc. Toward the mouth side it has a beautiful beach of white sand. From this side the water gradually deepens toward the rear end of the cavern, until, at the furthest extremity, it is ten feet or more in depth, and so clear that a person sitting in one end of the boat may see the bottom by the light of a candle held over the other end. On all the sides of this lake (excepting the opening) the walls rise perpendicularly. They are stained with water to a height about five feet above the present water line, showing that the lake must have risen to that height when the entrance was choked up as it was when Pike visited it in 1806.

At the outer edge of the lake the height of the roof, or inner side of the doorway arch, is about 5 feet, and the width about 40 feet. It soon grows a little wider, and the roof expands into a capacious dome. Its apex, as near as we could judge from the flickering lights, must be some 20 feet above the water. The widest part of the

cave is about 50 feet from the landing, after which it gradually narrows to the end of the cave. It is everywhere high enough to permit free movement of the boat without incommoding the occupant. The roof and walls are of the white sandstone, dry, and handsomely arched.

"Indian hieroglyphics," or pictographs, as mentioned by Carver, are still to be found on the walls, but whether the same ones that adorned the *Wakan-Teebe* when Jonathan visited it, or not, is difficult to say. A rude representation of a serpent, some three feet in length, is the most prominent sculpture on the walls. It is strenuously asserted by many antiquarians to be the seal or family coat of arms of *Otoh-ton-goom lish-eaw*, whose signature to the great deed was a representation of a snake. Others say it is not Indian, but evidently the work of a white man. If so, it must have been done a long time ago, as our oldest settlers say it was there when they first visited the cave.

The distance from the edge of the water to the extreme end of the cave is about one hundred and twelve feet. Long (in his *Journal of a Skiff Voyage*, published by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1860) says that "the distance from its entrance to its inner extremity is twenty-four paces," but adds, "the cavern was once probably much more extensive."

From the entrance of the cave, the extreme end would not be visible, as it bends considerably to the left. About half way up the cave, on the west side, is seen a small, low grotto. Through this low opening there is a connection with Dayton's Cave,* a few hundred feet up the river, and water flows from one into the other.

* "Dayton's Cave" is strictly not a cave at all. It is a hollow space under a large shelving rock. It has been walled up in front, and was used for many years as a vegetable cellar. Latterly it has been used as a bottling vault for ale and ginger pop. At the rear of the cave is a pool of clear, cold water, like that in Carver's Cave, but much smaller. This fact has probably caused Dayton's Cave to be mistaken as the real Carver's Cave. Miss Bishop, in her *Floral Homes* (p. 25), and Neill, in his *History of Minnesota* (p. 208), fall into this error.

The temperature of the cave is about 50°, at which figure it remains summer and winter, irrespective of the external heat or cold, scarcely changing a degree.

THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE CAVE.

There were no formal ceremonies within the cave. As soon as the party could light their torches, the cave was thoroughly explored. A small boat was found moored to the shore, capable of holding a couple of persons at a time, and the visitors, two at a time, embarked, and paddled up the cavern, one rowing, and the other holding a lantern at the bow for a headlight.

When at the extreme rear end of the cavern, one of the party sang a song, the echoes of which were remarkable. We could well conceive how the pebble thrown by Carver "caused an astonishing and horrible noise that reverberated through all those gloomy regions."

The flashing of the lights held by the party, and their reflected gleam in the clear water of the pool — the ghost-like appearance of the visitors as they moved about bearing their lights above their heads — made a weird scene quite in character with the sacredness of the spot, while the hollow echoes of the song and laughter, and loud voices of the party, seemed to profane the awful mysteries of this "Dwelling of the Great Spirit." We almost expected to see the spirits of Carver, and *Haw-no-paw-gat-an*, and *Otoh-ton-goom-lish-eaw*, and their compeers, the makers of the deed and treaty on that grand council day a hundred years ago, start from the dark walls of the cave, and reprove us for our levity and ill-timed merriment and rude noise. But those worthies were by no means forgotten on our centenary visit. A toast to the memory of the adventurous Carver was drunk by each visitor present, in a bumper of that same cold, clear, refreshing water that

Carver and his fellow councilors drank on that bright May day morning a hundred years ago. Our imaginations almost pictured Carver seated in the cave, with his dusky friends around him, making the speech which he records, or drawing up and explaining to the Indians the famous deed to which they affixed their marks. And as we quaffed the pellucid liquid, our thoughts leaped across the eventful century that has passed since then,—a century more crowded with great events than any that has preceded it,—that gave birth to our great nation, and saw it rise to an acme of power and greatness scarce surpassed in the history of the world. We thought, too, of the future; of the mighty changes that another hundred years must produce.

A century ago, the *Wakan-Teebe* and the rude Indian huts. To-day, around the same spot, are the homes of 20,000 people, the spires of other temples more fit for "the dwelling of the Great Spirit," the institutions of a higher civilization than the Naudowessies knew of.

A century hence, when our descendants, and our successors in the Historical Society celebrate the Carver Bi-Centenary, what changes will they too, witness? We can scarce imagine them! Who will be celebrating this anniversary then, and how? Who will fill our places then?

Who'll press for gold yon crowded street,
A hundred years to come?
Who'll tread our paths with weary feet,
A hundred years to come?
Pale, trembling age, and fiery youth,
And childhood with its heart of truth,
The rich, the poor, on land and sea—
Where will the mighty millions be,
A hundred years to come?
Then other men our lands will till
And others then our places fill,
While other hearts will beat as gay,
And bright the sunshine as to-day,
A hundred years to come.

As we emerged from the cave, awed into silence by these impressive thoughts, the noble steamer Itasca passed up the river, her deep-toned whistle heralding her approach to the city, waking the echoes of the bluffs and vales. The scream and roar of a locomotive near by answered her signal. How this would have startled Carver and his dusky companions if they had come unheralded at their council on that historic day a century ago! Even Carver's prophetic soul, which predicted the overland route for the northwest passage, and saw with the eye of faith "mighty kingdoms emerge from the wilderness, and stately palaces and solemn temples, with gilded spires reaching the skies, supplant the Indian huts whose only decorations are the barbarous trophies of their vanquished enemies," had not foreseen the car and steamer and telegraph traversing the wilderness, the mightiest agencies in the work of making it blossom as the rose.

Reluctantly we terminated our centenary visit, to meet again at the cave, in the persons of our descendants and successors, on May 1, 1967, hoping that those who celebrate that day may enjoy the event as much as we did the First Centennial Meeting in Carver's Cave.

PART II.

THE REUNION IN THE EVENING.

The members of the Historical Society assembled at eight o'clock in the evening at the rooms of the society, to participate in the literary exercises of the Centenary Celebration. There was an unusually full attendance of members, together with a number of invited guests.

In the absence of the president, Rev. S. Y. McMasters was called to the chair.

Rev. John Mattocks then delivered an address on "The Life and Travels of Jonathan Carver," which was listened to with great interest by the members present. At its conclusion, on motion of Hon. A. Goodrich, a copy of the address was requested for the use of the society.

Some time was then spent in discussing the subject of Carver's explorations, and the incidents of the visit to the cave in the afternoon.

Col. Wm. H. Nobles, then, by invitation of the society, read a paper on "The Ancient Indian Mounds and Fortifications of the Northwest." On motion, a copy of the same was requested for preservation in the archives of the society.

Regret having been expressed by some of the members present that the funds of the society would not warrant the outlay necessary to print in pamphlet form an account of the centenary proceedings, Geo. W. Fahnestock, Esq., of Philadelphia, an honorary member of the society, who

was present, generously offered to bear the expense of such publication, should the society see fit to order the same.*

On motion of Rev. John Mattocks, it was

Resolved, That the very generous and liberal offer of Mr. Fahnestock be accepted, and that the thanks of the society be tendered to him for the same. And the secretary is hereby instructed to prepare an accouut of the celebration, and secure its publication in pamphlet form.

On motion, adjourned.

J. F. WILLIAMS,
Secretary.

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*It is but due to Mr. Fahnestock to state that the celebration of the anniversary was first suggested by him, and after it was resolved on by the society, its success was in a great measure owing to the interest he took in it, and his efforts to render it interesting and creditable. J. F. W.

THE LIFE AND EXPLORATIONS OF JONATHAN CARVER.

BY REV. JOHN MATTOCKS.*

We are met this evening to celebrate, in an appropriate manner, an event of no ordinary interest, an event which occurred a century ago, a date anterior even to the birth of our nation, and fully half a century prior to the settlement of this state by white men. This is the first time since the organization of our society, that we have been called on to celebrate the anniversary of any event connected with the early history of Minnesota, and the spirit with which the members have enlisted in this matter shows that it is regarded as an event of more than ordinary interest.

It is peculiarly appropriate that this society should have commemorated that event. We are organized to collect and preserve, and disseminate a knowledge of, the early history of our state and the northwest. Our state is so young that it has but little history since its settlement by white men. One of the principal portions of our work, therefore, is to preserve the records of its early explorers. Hennepin, Perrot, Duluth, Saint Pierre and Le Sueur have all been made familiar to the readers of our publications. But Jonathan Carver, who deserves a place as prominent as any, has never been so honored.

* Mr. Mattock's address was not in manuscript, but was delivered orally by him. The copy from which this is printed is the report of it made by the reporter of one of the city papers.

Indeed, it is remarkable how little, generally, is known of Carver. This may be accounted for, however, from the fact that copies of his work are very rare.

I have, therefore, in my remarks on the "Life and Travels of Jonathan Carver," which at your request I now give, given more full extracts from Carver's works than might otherwise have been necessary, in order to reproduce the text of the original, and also allow Carver to tell his own story, which he does in a clear, entertaining and vivid manner. I might mention here that Carver is one of the most entertaining of writers. His style is easy, plain and forcible. His work possesses almost the interest of a romance. Yet, although many of Carver's statements have been discredited, Carver was no romancer. Every page bears the impress of truth and candor. Although somewhat familiar with the contents of his work years ago, yet when I read it critically in preparing this address, I was singularly struck with the remarkable prophecies he makes, and his sagacious views in regard to the future of the wilderness he traversed. Viewed in the light of a century later, there are some really remarkable passages in his work, stamping him as a man of no ordinary mind and sagacity. That he was an acute and close observer, an industrious student of ethnology, and a careful, discriminating journalist, his chapters on the Indian races, and the natural history of the northwest must prove to even the casual reader. But I must pass without further preface to the subject of this paper.

MEMOIR OF CARVER.

Jonathan Carver was a grandson of William Joseph Carver, of Wigan, in Lancashire, England, who was a captain in the army under King William, and served in

the campaign against Ireland with such distinguished reputation that the prince was pleased to reward him with the government of the Colony of Connecticut, in New England. Jonathan was born in 1722, at Stillwater (or Canterbury), Conn. His father, who was a justice of the peace, died when he was fifteen years of age. It was designed to educate him for a physician, but his spirit of enterprise and adventure could not brook the close study necessary to acquire the profession, and he chose the army instead. He therefore purchased an ensigncy in a Connecticut regiment, and soon, by good conduct, rose to the command of a company during the French War. In the year 1757, he was present at the massacre of Fort William Henry, and narrowly escaped with his life.

CARVER'S OBJECT IN MAKING THE JOURNEY.

Having served through the war with credit and distinction, the peace of Versailles, in 1763, left Capt. Carver without occupation. It was then that Carver conceived the project of exploring the newly acquired possessions of Great Britain in the Northwest. In the preface to his book he says:

"No sooner was the late war with France concluded, and peace established by the Treaty of Versailles in the year 1763, than I began to consider (having rendered my country some service during the war) how I might continue still serviceable, and continue, as much as lay in my power, to make that vast acquisition of territory, gained by Great Britain in North America, advantageous to it. It appeared to me indispensably needful, that government should be acquainted in the first place with the true state of the dominions they were now become possessed of. To this purpose I determined, as the next proof of my zeal, to explore the most unknown parts of them, and to spare no trouble or expense in acquiring a knowledge that promised to be so useful to my countrymen. I knew that many obstructions would arise to my scheme from the want of good maps and charts. * * * These difficulties, however, were not sufficient to deter me from the undertaking, and I made preparations

for setting out. What I chiefly had in view, after gaining a knowledge of the manners, customs, languages, soil and productions of the different nations that inhabit the back of the Mississippi, was to ascertain the breath of that vast continent, which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, in the broadest part between 43° and 46° northern latitude. Had I been able to accomplish this, I intend to have proposed to government to establish a post in some of those parts about the Straits of Annian, which having been first discovered by Sir Francis Drake, of course belong to the English. This, I am convinced would greatly facilitate the discovery of a northwest passage, or a communication between the Hudson's bay and the Pacific ocean, an event so desirable, and which has been so often sought for, but without success. Besides this important end, a settlement on that territory of America would answer many good purposes, and repay every expense the establishment of it might occasion. For it would not only disclose new sources of trade and promote many useful discoveries, but would open a passage for conveying intelligence to China, and English settlements in the East Indies, with greater expedition than a tedious voyage by the Cape of Good Hope, or the Straits of Magellan will allow of. That the completion of the scheme I have had the honor of first planning the attempting will sometime or other be effected, I make no doubt. Whenever it is, and the execution of it carried on with propriety, those who are so fortunate as to succeed will reap, exclusive of the national advantages that must ensue, emoluments beyond their most sanguine expectations, and whilst their spirits are elated by their success, perhaps they may bestow some commendation and blessings on the person that first pointed out to them the way."

HE SETS OUT ON HIS TRAVELS.

Carver set out on his journey from Boston in June, 1766. He proceeded to Mackinaw, then the most distant British post, arriving in August.

"Having here (he says) made the necessary dispositions for pursuing my travels, and obtained a credit from Mr. Rogers, the governor, on some English and Canadian traders who were going to trade on the Mississippi, and received also from him a promise of a fresh supply of goods when I reached the Falls of St. Anthony, I left the fort on the third of September, in company with these traders. It was agreed that they should furnish me with

such goods as I might want for presents to the Indian chiefs during my continuance with them, agreeable to the governor's order."

Carver pursued the usual route to Green bay, ascended the Fox river, made the portage to the Wisconsin and descending that stream, entered the Mississippi on October 15th. The traders who were with him left him at Prairie du Chien, opposite to which village at "Yellow river," they took up their quarters. Carver here "bought a canoe, and with two servants, one a French Canadian, and the other a Mohawk of Canada," started up the Mississippi river.

HIS VOYAGE UP THE MISSISSIPPI.

Some miles below Lake Pepin, Carver writes, he found a remarkable fortification, which he thought to be very ancient. It was planned and constructed with considerable engineering ability. On the first of November he arrived at Lake Pepin. This lake he describes at some length, in language floral and poetical — yet his general description of that truly lovely sheet of water is correct and faithful. He observed in one place, he writes — "the ruins of a French factory, where it is said Capt. Saint Pierre resided, and carried on a very great trade with the Naudowessies before the reduction of Canada."

CARVER EXPLORES THE CAVE AT SAINT PAUL.

We have now followed Carver on his journey until he reaches the cave to which we paid a visit to-day. He thus speaks of it in his work:

"About thirty miles below the Falls of Saint Anthony, at which I arrived the tenth day after I left Lake Pepin, is a remarkable cave, of an amazing depth. The Indians term it *Wakan-Teebe*, that is, the dwelling

of the Great Spirit. The entrance into it is about 10 feet wide, the height of it 5 feet. The arch within is near 15 feet high, and about 30 feet broad. The bottom of it consists of fiue clear sand. About twenty feet from the entrance begins a lake, the water of which is transparent, and extends to an unsearchable distance; for the darkness of the cave prevents all attempts to acquire a knowledge of it. I threw a small pebble toward the interior parts of it with my utmost strength; I could hear that it fell into the water, and notwithstanding it was of so small a size, it caused an astonishing and horrible noise, that reverberated through all those gloomy regions. I found in this cave many Indian hieroglyphics, which appeared very ancient, for time had nearly covered them with moss, so that it was with difficulty I could trace them. They were cut in a rude manner upon the inside of the walls, which were composed of a stone so extremely soft that it might be easily penetrated with a knife; a stone everywhere to be found near the Mississippi. The cave is only accessible by ascending a narrow steep passage that lies near the brink of the river.

At a little distance from this dreary cavern is the burying place of several bands of the Naudowessie Indians: though these people have no fixed residence, living in tents, and abiding but a few months on one spot, yet they always bring the bones of their dead to this place; which they take the opportunity of doing, when the chiefs meets to hold their councils, and to settle all public affairs for the ensuing summer."

This was Carver's first visit to the now celebrated cave. After leaving it he proceeded on to Saint Anthony's Falls, which he minutely describes in his volume of travels, accompanying it by a copperplate engraving from a drawing made by himself on Nov. 17, 1766. He afterward took a short trip up the Mississippi river as far as the "Saint Francis river," beyond which point, he says, it had never been explored, and thus far only by Father Hennepin and himself.

HE PROPOSES A SHIP CANAL FROM THE RIVER TO THE LAKES.

Carver here makes somewhat remarkable suggestion in favor of a ship canal, connecting the Mississippi with the lakes. He says:

"As this river is not navigable from the sea for vessels of any considerable burthen, much higher than the forks of the Ohio — and even that is

accomplished with difficulty — those settlements that may be made on the interior branches of it must be indisputably secure from the attacks of any maritime power. But at the same time the settlers will have the advantage of being able to convey their produce to the seaports with great facility, the current of the river from its source to its entrance into the Gulf of Mexico being extremely favorable for doing this in a small craft. This might also, in time, be facilitated by canals or shorter cuts, and a communication opened by water with New York, Canada, etc., by way of the lakes."

This project of a ship canal from the Mississippi to Lake Michigan has by no means been abandoned, but is still agitated actively and may be yet accomplished. Carver did not, however, foresee the introduction of railroads, which has proved a more valuable channel for commerce than Carver's canal and his projected overland route to the Indies.

HIS JOURNEY UP THE SAINT PETER RIVER.

On the twenty-fifth of November Carver returned to his canoe, which he "had left at the mouth of the river Saint Pierre" (Minnesota) and ascended that stream. About forty miles from its mouth he says he "arrived at a small branch that fell into it from the north," to which as it had no name that he could distinguish it by, he called "Carver's river," which name it bears to this day.

HE WINTERS AMONG THE NAUDOWESSIES.

On the seventh of December he arrived at the most westerly limit of his travels, and as he could proceed no further that season, spent the winter, a period of seven months, among a band of Naudowessies encamped near what is now New Ulm. He says he learned their language so as to converse with them intelligibly, and was treated by them with great hospitality. In the spring he returned to the cave. His account of this is as follows:

THE RETURN TO THE GREAT CAVE.

"I left the habitations of these hospitable Indians the latter end of April, 1767, but did not part from them for several days, as I was accompanied on my journey by near three hundred of them, among whom were many chiefs, to the mouth of the river St. Pierre. At this season these bands annually go to the great cave before mentioned, to hold a grand council with all the other bands, wherein they settle their operations for the ensuing year. At the same time they carry with them their dead for interment, bound up in buffalo skins."

It was on this visit to the cave that Carver made the alleged treaty with the Indians and received from them the celebrated deed of land. His account of it is as follows:

"When we arrived at the great cave, and the Indians had deposited the remains of their deceased friends in the burial place that stands adjacent to it, they held their great council, into which I was admitted and at the same time had the honor to be installed and adopted a chief of their bands. On this occasion I made the following speech which was delivered on the first day of May, 1767:"

CARVER'S SPEECH TO THE INDIANS.

"*My Brothers, Chiefs of the Numerous and Powerful Naudowessies:* I rejoice that through my long abode with you, I can now speak to you (though after an imperfect manner) in your own tongue, like one of your own children. I rejoice also that I have had an opportunity so frequently to inform you of the glory and power of the great king that reigns over the English and other nations; who is descended from a very ancient race of sovereigns, as old as the earth and the waters; whose feet stand upon two great islands, larger than any you have ever seen, amidst the greatest waters in the world, whose head reaches to the sun, and whose arms encircle the whole earth; the number of whose warriors is equal to the trees in the valleys, the stalks of rice in yonder marshes, and the blades of grass on your great plains, who has hundreds of canoes of his own, of such amazing bigness that all the waters in your country would not suffice for one of them to swim in, each of which have great guns, not small like mine, which you see before you, but of such magnitude that a hundred of your stoutest young men would with difficulty be able to carry one. And they are equally surprising in their operation against the king's enemies when engaged in battle; the terror they carry with

them your language lacks words to express. You may remember the other day when we were encamped at Wadapaw-menesoter, the black clouds, the wind, the fire, the stupendous noise, the horrible cracks, and the trembling of the earth which then alarmed you, and gave you reason to think your gods were angry with you; not unlike these are the warlike implements of the English when they are fighting the battles of their great king.

"Several of the chiefs of your bands have often told me in times past, when I dwelt with you in your tents, that they much wished to be counted among the children and the allies of the great king, my master.

"You may remember how often you have desired me, when I return again to my own country, to acquaint the great king of your good disposition towards him and his subjects, and that you wished for traders from the English to come among you.

"Being now about to take my leave of you, and to return to my own country, a long way toward the rising sun, I again ask you to tell me whether you continue of the same mind as when I spoke to you in council last winter; and as there are now several of your chiefs here who came from the great plains toward the setting of the sun, whom I have never spoken with in council before, I ask you to let me know if you are willing to acknowledge yourselves the children of my great master, the king of the English.

"I charge you not to give heed to bad reports, for there are wicked birds flying about among the neighboring nations who may whisper evil things in your ears against the English, contrary to what I have told you; you must not believe them, for I have told you the truth.

"As for the chiefs that are about to go to Michilimackinac, I shall take care to make for them and their suits a straight road, smooth waters, and a clear sky, that they may go there and smoke the pipe of peace, and rest secure on a beaver blanket under the shade of the great tree of peace. Farewell!"

Whether any such grandiloquent speech as the above was really made by Carver on the occasion or not, has frequently been doubted. It is probable, however, that he made them a short address, in such broken Dakota as he could command.

"To this speech [he continues] I received the following answer from the mouth of the principal chief:"

THE REPLY.

"*Good Brother:* I am now about to speak to you with the mouths of these my brothers, chiefs of the eight bands of the powerful nation of the Naudowessies. We believe, and are well satisfied in the truth of everything you have told us about your great nation, and the great king our greatest father; for whom we spread this beaver blanket, that his fatherly protection may ever rest easy and safe amongst us, his children; your colors and your arms agree with the accounts you have given us about your great nation. We desire that when you return, you will acquaint the great king how much the Naudowessies wish to be counted among his good children. You may believe us when we tell you that we will not open our ears to anyone who may dare to speak evil of our great father, the king of the English and other nations.

"We thank you for what you have done for us in making peace between the Naudowessies and the Chippewas, and hope when you return to us again, that you will complete this good work; and quite dispelling the clouds that intervene, open the blue sky of peace, and cause the bloody hatchet to be deep buried under the roots of the great tree of peace.

"We wish you to remember to represent to our Great Father how much we desire that traders may be sent to abide among us, with such things as we need, that the hearts of our young men, our wives, and children may be made glad. And may peace subsist between us, so long as the sun, the moon, the earth, and the waters shall endure. Farewell!"

THE PURPORTED DEED.

At this council was given [if ever given at all] the famous deed of land to Carver, which reads as follows:

"To Jonathan Carver, a chief under the most mighty and potent George the Third, king of the English and other nations, the fame of whose warriors has reached our ears, and has now been fully told to us by our *good brother Jonathan*, aforesaid, whom we rejoice to see come among us, and bring us good news from his country.

"We, chiefs of the Naudowessies, who have hereto set our seals, do by these presents, for ourselves and heirs forever, in return for the many presents and other good services done by the said Jonathan to ourselves and allies, give, grant, and convey to him, the said Jonathan, and to his heirs and assigns forever, the whole of a certain tract or territory of land, bounded as follows, viz.: From the Falls of Saint Anthony,

running on the east bank of the Mississippi, nearly southeast, as far as the south end of Lake Pepin, where the Chippewa river joins the Mississippi, and from thence eastward, five days' travel, accounting twenty English miles per day, and from thence north six days' travel, at twenty English miles per day, and from thence again to the Falls of Saint Anthony, on a direct straight line. We do, for ourselves, heirs, and assigns, forever, give unto the said Jonathan, his heirs and assigns forever, all the said lands, with all the trees, rocks and rivers therein, reserving the sole liberty of hunting and fishing on land not planted or improved by the said Jonathan, his heirs and assigns, to which we have affixed our respective seals.

"At the Great Cave,

"May 1st, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven.

"HAW-NO-PAW-GAT-AN, his ⋈ mark.
(picture of a beaver.)

"OTOH-TON-GOOM-LISH-EAW, his ⋈ mark.
(picture of a snake.)"

It is a somewhat singular fact that Carver nowhere mentions this deed in his writings. Why its existence was suppressed by him, if it had an existence during his life, can only be conjectured. It seems not to have been made public until after his death, and it has been supposed that it was a forgery done by Carver's heirs, subsequent to his death, in the hope of some profit which could be made out of it. John Coakley Lettsom, who wrote the biography of Carver for the third edition of his travels, said he had the original deed in his possession. We will further trace the history of this deed, after concluding our account of Carver.

HE RETURNS HOME.

Whilst he tarried at the mouth of the river Saint Pierre [he says] he endeavored to learn whether the goods which the governor at Michillimacinac had promised to forward him, had arrived. Learning they had not, he was obliged to abandon all hopes of proceeding further westward, and returned to Prairie du Chien.

Here procuring a small supply of goods, he proceeded to Lake Superior, and spent some time exploring that region, returning to Boston by way of Sault Ste. Marie, Detroit, and Niagara Falls. He arrived in Boston in October, 1768, "having been absent from it on this expedition two years and five months, and during that time traveled near 7,000 miles."

CARVER'S SUBSEQUENT HISTORY.

Carver soon after sailed for England. Of his purposes and movements there, we will let him be his own historian:

"On my arrival in England, I presented a petition to his majesty in council praying for a reimbursement of those sums I had expended in the service of the government. This was referred to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations. Their lordships, from the tenor of it, thought the intelligence I could give of so much importance to the nation that they ordered me to appear before the board. This message I obeyed, and underwent a long examination, much, I believe, to the satisfaction of every lord present. When it was finished, I requested to know what I should do with my papers. Without hesitation, the first lord replied, that I might publish them whenever I pleased.

"In consequence of this permission, I disposed of them to a bookseller; but when they were nearly ready for the press, an order was issued from the council board, requiring me to deliver without delay, into the plantation office, all my charts and journals, with every paper relative to the discoveries I had made. In order to obey the command I was obliged to repurchase them from the bookseller, at a very great expense, and deliver them up. This fresh disbursement I endeavored to get annexed to the account I had already delivered in, but the request was denied me, notwithstanding I had only acted in the disposal of my papers, conformably to the permission I had received from the board of trade. This loss, which amounted to a very considerable sum, I was obliged to bear, and to rest satisfied with an indemnification for my other expenses."

Having expended all his private fortune in his explorations and other expenses, Carver was compelled to make a new abstract of his journals (which fortunately he had

preserved) and publish them, in order to reimburse himself.* It is hardly possible that he realized much money from his book, as we hear of him a few months after this, in very indigent circumstances. His health also declined. In 1779 he secured a position as clerk in a lottery office, from the gains of which he eked out a scanty subsistence for a few months. Disease soon ensued, however, and he actually died of want† in London, Jan. 31, 1780, aged 48 years.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE PURPORTED DEED.

Carver, as we before mentioned, does not speak in his work of the deed said to have been given May 1, 1767. It was not until after his death that it was brought to light. Carver had married during his sojourn in England (although he had a wife and five daughters in Connecticut at the time) and by this second wife had one daughter, named Martha. She was raised by Sir Richard and Lady Pearson. When she grew up, she eloped with, and married a sailor, whose name seems to be now unknown. A mercantile firm in London, thinking that money could be made by securing the title to the alleged grant, secured from the penniless couple, a few days after their marriage, a conveyance of the grant to them, for the consideration of one-tenth the profits. The merchants despatched an agent named Clark to go to the Dakotas, and obtain a new deed, but on the way Clark was murdered in New York, and the speculation for the time fell through.

In the year 1794, the heirs of Carver's American wife, in consideration of £50,000, conveyed their interest in the

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* Carver also published, "A Treatise on the Culture of the Tobacco Plant." Lon. 1779, 8vo. "The New Universal Traveler," Lon. 1779, folio. This is not his own production but he is said to have lent his name to it. [Allibone's Dict. of Authors.]

† It was owing to Dr. Lettsom's account of his sufferings and ill requited labors for the English government that the literary fund was established. [Allibone's Dict. of Authors.]

Carver grant to Edward Houghton, of Vermont. In the year 1806, Rev. Samuel Peters,† who had been a Tory during the Revolutionary War, alleged, in a petition to Congress, that he had also purchased of the heirs of Carver, their right to the grant.

In 1821, Gen. Leavenworth, pursuant to a request of the commissioner of the land office, inquired of the Dakotas in relation to the grant, and reported that the land alleged to be granted "lies on the east side of the Mississippi." The Indians do not recognize or acknowledge the grant to be valid and they, among others, assign the following reason:

1. The Sioux of the plains never owned a foot of land on the east side of the Mississippi. * * *

2. The Indians say they have no knowledge of any such chiefs as those who signed the grant. They say if Capt. Carver did ever obtain a deed or grant, it was signed by some foolish young men who were not chiefs, and who were not authorized to make a grant. Among the Sioux of the River there are no such names.* * * *

3. They say the Indians never received anything for the land, and they have no intention to part with it without a consideration. * * *

4. They have, and ever have had, the possession of the land and intend to keep it. * * *

On Jan. 23, 1823, the Committee on Public Lands reported to the senate on the claim of Carver's heirs, at some length. They argue that the purported grant has

†See "Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society for 1864," p. 110.

*Carver only once in the body of his work mentions the chiefs whose signature and "family coat of arms" are appended to the deed. On page 380, speaking of Indian nomenclature, he says:

"Thus, the great warrior of the Naudowessies was named Ottahtongoomlisheah, that is the Great Father of Snakes; ottah being in English father, tongoon great, and lisheay a snake. Another chief was called Honahpawjatin, which means, a swift runner over the mountains."

no binding effect on the United States, and give very satisfactory and conclusive reasons therefor, at too great length, however, to include in this paper. The prayer of the petitioners was therefore not granted.

It is certain that Carver's American heirs always supposed (and are said to this day to assert) that they had a good title to the grant in question. Some of them have visited Saint Paul in their investigations of the subject. Two of these visits are mentioned in history.

Maj. Stephen H. Long, U. S. A., in his journal of "A Voyage in a Six-oared Skiff to the Falls of Saint Anthony, in 1817" [published by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1860], says:

"There sailed also in company with us, two gentlemen from New York, by the name of King and Gun, who are grandsons of Capt J. Carver, the celebrated traveler. They were on their way northward, on a visit to the Sauteurs, for the purpose of establishing their claims to a tract of land granted by those Indians to their grandfather."

After his return to Prairie du Chien, Long writes:

"Last evening Messrs. Gun and King arrived at the Prairie from the Falls of Saint Anthony. Whether they accomplished the object of their trip, viz.: to establish their claim to the tract of country ceded by the Indians to their grandfather Carver, I had no time to enquire, but presume there is no ground for supposing they did, as they before told me they could find but one Indian who had any knowledge of the transaction, or was in the least disposed to recognize the grant. That they do not consider the cession obligatory upon them is very evident, from their having ceded to the United States, through the negotiations of Pike, two parcels of the same tract specified in the grant in favor of Carver.

Miss Harriet E. Bishop, too, in her work "Floral Home; or First Years of Minnesota," speaks thus of the visit of another of Capt. Carver's heirs:

In 1848, Dr. Hartwell Carver visited the region which had been the theatre of his grandfather's adventures. He came as claimant of the soil—his claims being predicated on a title to one hundred miles square, ceded to the former by the two head chiefs of the Dakota nation. This conveyance of land was claimed to have been ratified by George III.

Miss Bishop states that Dr. Carver was sanguine of obtaining a recognition by Congress of the rights of the heirs to compensation for the land said to have been ceded to their ancestor.

Numerous deeds for portions of the land were made at various times by Carver's heirs or their assignees. In 1849, and a few years subsequent, when real estate agents throve in the infant city of Saint Paul, very many of these deeds were received by land dealers here, to "locate." Several of them are among the manuscripts in the library of this society.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE CAVE.

After the visit of Carver, the cave remained unentered by the white man for nearly half a century. Pike tried to find it in 1806. He says:

"*Saturday, twelfth April.* Embarked early. Although my interpreter had been frequently up the river, he could not tell me where the cave, spoken of by Carver, could be found: we carefully sought for it, but in vain."

Maj. Long, in 1817, was more successful. He says:

"*Wednesday, July* 16. Two miles above the village [Little Crow's] on the same side of the river, is Carver's Cave. However interesting it may have been, it does not possess that character in a very high degree at present. We descended it with lighted candles to its lowest extremity. The entrance is very low, and about eight feet broad, so that a man in order to enter it must be completely prostrate. The angle of decent within the cave is about 25°. The flooring is an inclined plane of quicksand, formed of the rock in which the cavern is formed. The distance from its entrance to its inner extremity is 24 paces, the width in the broadest part about 9, and its greatest height about 7 feet. In shape it resembles a baker's oven. The cavern was once probably much more extensive. My interpreter informed me that, since his remembrance, the entrance was not less than 10 feet high, and its length far greater than at present."

Maj. Long then visited Fountain Cave, which is thought by some to be the real Carver Cave. He thus refutes this theory:

"This cavern, as I was informed by my interpreter, has been discovered but a few years; that the Indians living in its neighborhood knew nothing of it till within six years past. That it is not the same as that described by Carver is evident, not only from this circumstance, but also from the circumstance that instead of a stagnant pool, and only one accessible room of a very different form, this cavern has a brook running through it, and at least four rooms in succession, one after the other. Carver's Cave is fast filling up with sand, so that no water is now to be found in it, whereas this, from the very nature of the place, must be enlarging, as the fountain will carry along with its current all the sand that falls into it from the sides and roof of the cavern."

Featherstonhaugh, the geologist, next visits it in 1835. He says:

"*September* 11. About 5 P. M. we came up with a bluff of incoherent sandstone about one hundred and eighty feet high, like that on the Wisconsin. The Indians say that there was formerly a large cave here, but that the rock fell in and covered it up. I landed and endeavored to trace some vestige of the cave, but in vain, a talus of hundreds of tons of fallen rock covering the entire slope."

Jean N. Nicollet also visited the cave in 1837. In his report * to Congress, he says:

"The second [cave] four miles below the former, is that described by Carver. Its entrance has been, for more than thirty years, closed by the disintegrated debris of the limestone capping the sandstone in which it is located. On the third of July, 1837, with the assistance of Messrs. Campbell and Quinn, the former an interpreter for the Sioux, the latter for the Chippewas, I set about clearing this entrance, which, by the bye, was no easy work, for on the fifth we were about abandoning the job, when, unexpectedly, we found that we had made an opening into it; and although we had not entirely disencumbered it of its rubbish, I saw enough to satisfy me of the accuracy of Carver's description. The lake mentioned by him is there; but I could see only a segment of the cave, a portion of the roof being too near the surface of the water to enable me to proceed any further. A Chippewa warrior made a long harangue on the occasion, throwing his knife into the lake, as an offering to *Wakan-Tibi*, the spirit of the grottoes. * * * On the high grounds above the cave there were some Indian mounds, to which the Indians belonging to the tribe of M'dewakantons formerly transported the bones of the deceased members of their families."

* Report intended to illustrate a map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi river, made by I. N. Nicollet, Jan. 11, 1845.

Carver appears to have been sanguine that the region which he traversed would ultimately become populous and wealthy. This belief appears in numerous passages. His prophesy concerning an overland route of trade and commercial travel has already been quoted. That Carver certainly believed that this was to be the future course of trade is evident from the fact that after his return to England he interested Richard Whitworth, a member of Parliament, in the matter, and they formed a plan to establish a trading post near the headwaters of the Missouri and Oregon. The Revolutionary War prevented any accomplishment of their scheme. Carver nevertheless assures his readers of the great future of the Northwest. He says:

"To what power or authority this new world will become dependent, after it has arisen from its present uncultivated state, time alone can discover. But as the seat of empire from time immemorial has been gradually progressive towards the west, there is no doubt but that at some future period, *mighty kingdoms will emerge from these wildernesses, and stately palaces and solemn temples, with gilded spires reaching the skies, supplant the Indian huts whose only decorations are the barbarous trophies of their vanquished enemies.*"

A century has passed since Carver's visit here, and his ardent anticipations are realized. From the wilderness have indeed emerged "mighty kingdoms,"—vigorous, rich, growing states of the Northwest, each well termed an "*imperium in imperio*," mighty already in size and rich in undeveloped resources. In an hundred cities the "stately palaces" and "solemn temples" with "gilded spires" are seen, while the Indian race, whose huts stood on their site, are now almost "supplanted" by another race.

This progress from the wilderness to the rich and populous commonwealth—the incidents of the development and the history of the actors in the drama, it is our task to record; "to gather from still living witnesses and pre-

serve for the future annalist the important records of the teeming and romantic past;" to let nothing escape that may show to future generations the form and pressure of our own times.

To this duty let us address ourselves with renewed diligence, and while "toiling in the mines of history, gathering its pure ore," not forget to do justice to the memory of the early explorers of this region, so prominent among whom was the subject of this centenary celebration, *Jonathan Carver*.

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